National Anthem of Free India.

" Sudh Sukh Chain Ki Barkha Barse Bharat Bhag
Hai Jaga.
Punjab Sindh Gujrat Maratha Dravida Utkal Banga.
Chanchal Sagar Vindh Himala neela Jamna Ganga.
Tere Nit Gun Gae. Tujh Se Jeewan Pae.
Sab Tan Pae Asha.
Suraj Ban Kar Jag Par Chamke Bharat Nam
Sobhaga.
Jaiya Ho Jaiya Ho Jaiya Ho.
Jaiya Jaiya Jaiya Jaiya Ho. Bharat Nam Sobhaga."

" Sab Ke Dil Men Prit Basae Teri Mithi Bani.
Har Sube Ke Rahne Wale Har Mazhab Ke Prani.
Sab Bhed Or Farq Mita Ke.
Sab God Men Teri Ake.
Gunden Prem Ki Mala.
Suraj Ban Kar Jag Par Chamke Bharat Nam
Sobhaga.
Jaiya Ho Jaiya Ho Jaiya Ho.
Jaiya Jaiya Jaiya Jaiya Ho. Bharat Nam Sobhaga."

" Subah Savere Pankh Pakhheru Tere Hi Gun Gaen.
Baz Bhari Bharpur Hawaen Jiwan Men Rut Laen.
Sab Mil Kar Hindi Pukare. Jai Azad Hind Ke Nare.
Piyara Desh Hamara.
Suraj Ban Kar Jag Par Chamke Bharat Nam
Sobhaga.
Jaiya Ho Jaiya Ho Jaiya Ho.
Jaiya Jaiya Jaiya Jaiya Ho. Bharat Nam Sobhaga."



NETAJI SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE

CHALO DELHI!

AN HISTORICAL ACCOUNT OF
THE INDIAN INDEPENDENCE
MOVEMENT IN EAST ASIA

BY
S. A. Das
&
K. B. Subbaiah

WITH A FOREWORD BY
JOHN A. THIVY
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of
FREE
INDIA

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FOREWORD

The Indian Independence Movement in East Asia is a subject that has a tremendous appeal to all, and therefore there are many who have already compiled books and pamphlets, and many more who will do so. For some time to come there will be an insatiable thirst for information about a Movement which has no parallel in the history of subject nations' struggle against domination.

While there may be some authors who will, possibly, in their enthusiasm, as well as, possibly, in their ignorance of facts, put pen to paper and produce reading matter which may give exaggerated and even fantastic accounts of the Movement's achievements, there will be others who will indulge in half-truths and misinterpretations; and yet others who, moved by some form of political bigotry or as a justification for a vacillating mind which had no place in the Movement, may publish garbled accounts, in order to disparage the Indian Independence League, the Indian National Army and the Provisional Government of Azad Hind (Free India).

The Authors of this book "CHALO DELHI," have endeavoured to steer clear of these extremes. In their anxiety to do so, they have hardly made any comments which may be considered as indicative of their personal leanings. In fact a great part of their book is devoted to the first year of the Movement. They place on record documentary evidences which indicate the strong suspicion against the Japanese, and therefore the decision of some leaders not to take any "forward step" in the programme of

activities; the clashes between some Indian leaders and the Japanese; between Indians themselves; the "crisis"; all of which resulted in the streamlining of the Constitution.

The Authors then take the reader into calmer waters and thence on to the waves of enthusiasm when Srijut Subhas Chandra Bose came to East Asia; and so on to a description of the onward surge of swiftly moving currents, engendered by the towering fountain-head of energy —Netaji.

These currents gathered strength and momentum by effecting the reorganisations in the Army and in the Independence League and eventually reached the solid strength and dignity that was the Provisional Government of Azad Hind. All these steps are traced by official documents, statements and speeches. Although there are a few other important features of the Movement which could also be substantiated by documents, yet those that the Authors have brought into this book should be more than sufficient for any seeker after the truth pertaining to the Movement.

The Authors are to be congratulated on their ability to get possession of such valuable recorded evidence, and more particularly for their reticence in expressing their own opinions, because it is their desire that their readers should not be made biased, one way or the other.

JOHN A. THIVY.

Kuala Lumpur,
1st June, 1946.

PREFACE

An authentic account of the Indian Independence Movement in East Asia will constitute a glorious chapter in the history of the struggle for the liberation of India from foreign domination. Impelled by a burning desire to put down what we knew about the Movement, we undertook upon ourselves the onerous task of recording, for the benefit of our countrymen in India and of future generations, the brilliant achievements of three million Indians in East Asia, who lived, moved and had their being in the Movement during the most fateful and eventful period of three years and eight months, January, 1942—August, 1945, under the inspiring guidance and dynamic leadership of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose. The history of these achievements is as fascinating as it is soul-lifting. No one knows better than we that this task should have been undertaken by worthier and more capable hands, but, seeing that no attempt had been made so far in this direction in this country that had been the cradle of the Provisional Government of Free India and that the accounts that had appeared in India were mostly incorrect and incomplete, we who were humble workers in the Movement took courage to put pen to paper for fulfilling our heart's desire.

This book will enable our countrymen in India to view the Indian Independence Movement in proper perspective. It will dispel many a doubt and many a mistrust which they entertained in their minds concerning the Movement. In response to Netaji's call for "Total Mobilisation" Indians in East Asia sent an unending and ever-increasing stream of their sons and daughters to join the Azad Hind Fauj and the Rani of Jhansi Regiment, lavishly contributed money and materials for the prosecution of the war, and willingly sacrificed all that they possessed at the altar of India's Freedom. Though their great exploit failed owing to unexpected turn of events, they did their duty as true sons and daughters of India, and their shining example of patriotism will be written in letters of gold in the history of India's freedom struggle. This book will provide our countrymen many revelations. It was made clear from time to time by those in authority that the programme and plan of action of the Movement would be directed to be in line with the aims and intentions of the Indian National Congress and the future constitution of India would be left entirely to the decision of the people in India. The Indian National Army, contrary to the view generally held in India, was not a handmaid of the Japanese Army and was never subordinate to

it. The formation, command, and control of the I.N.A. were in the hands of the Indians themselves. The Japanese who, when asked at the early stages of the Movement to define their attitude towards India, were intractable and tried to show their teeth and claws, later found in Netaji more than their match. Neither their favours nor their frowns deflected him from his duty to his Motherland.

The Movement was not a half-baked or half-witted affair. The elaborate Government machinery set up to run the Movement was thorough-going and was an eloquent testimony to the remarkable resourcefulness and to the magnificent administrative and organising powers of Indians. The Movement is no more, but its achievements are of no mean consequence to India. Indians in East Asia had a foretaste of the dignity of being independent, with an incomparable leader of singular courage and burning patriotism whom they could follow even to death, with an Army with splendid fighting qualities which they could call their own, and with a Government second to none in its administrative abilities which enjoyed the friendship and goodwill of nine other Powers. The Movement brought about a social revolution which did away with all differences of caste, colour or creed. The formation of the Rani of Jhansi Regiment and opportunities given to women to serve the sacred cause of their Motherland together with their menfolk in the League organisations and Government Departments showed that our sisters could acquit themselves well and would not lag behind in demonstrating their patriotism in all possible ways if they had equality and freedom. These achievements are the results of the revolution brought about by Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose among the Indians in East Asia.

In spite of the authentic report given in this book about the death of Netaji a vast majority of his countrymen do not believe that he is dead. If alive, Netaji will soon appear in India where a right royal welcome is awaiting him; if dead, he will reign supreme in their hearts as the Uncrowned King of India.

Our grateful thanks are due to Mr. J. A. Thivy, former Minister of State and Secretary to the Provisional Government of Free India, who has written a Foreword to this book and, by doing so, has stamped it with his official imprimatur, to other leaders of the community and to leading Indian merchants who encouraged us in this task with their moral and material support.

JAI HIND!

P.O. Box 266,
Kuala Lumpur,
1st June, 1946.

S. A. DAS.

K. B. SUBBAIAH.



Mr. N. RAGHAVAN
Minister of Finance in the Provisional Government of FREE INDIA.



Mr. JOHN A. THIVY
Minister of State and Secretary to the Provisional Government of Free India.



Dr. M. K. LUKSHUMEYAH
Secretary-General of Rear Headquarters of the Indian Independence League.

Chalo Delhi!

CHAPTER—I

BEFORE THE EAST ASIA WAR

It is almost a truism to say that, whereas a national of a free country who happens to live in a foreign land is respected and his interests receive the utmost consideration from the powers that be, the lot of a member of a subject race is always to remain thankful for the small mercies shown to him. The policy adopted by the Imperialist Britain in India for the past two and a half centuries has resulted in moral degradation, economic impoverishment and political enslavement of the country, so much so that the Indians are not only kept backward in their own country, but are not given rightful place in other countries under British rule or influence to which they have emigrated and in the development of which they have played no mean part.

Either lured by stories of a golden Chersonese or encouraged by the sovereign Power to emigrate in furtherance of its imperialistic policy, twenty to thirty lakhs of Indians are now living in various parts of East Asia. Before the outbreak of the hostilities in this part of the world about a million Indians were living in Burma, three-quarters of a million in Malaya and another three-quarters in Japan, China, Siam, Indo-China, the Philippines, Fiji, Borneo, Celebes, Indonesia and the Andamans.

Malaya is a British colony with a cosmopolitan population, and that is why the prestige of the Indians in this country has always been among the foremost concerns of the greatest representative political body in India, the Indian National Congress. The Malayan Government has encouraged the emigration into this country of tens of thousands of Indian labourers for developing this country for the benefit of its capitalists. Its policy in keeping down the Indian labourers without making any attempt to improve their lot by raising their wages, by giving their children proper education and by opening up other avenues of employment and its discriminatory, step-motherly treatment of the Indians in general have earned the reprobation of the political leaders in India and have come for a good deal of criticism here and in the Motherland.

When the Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri visited Malaya in December, 1936, on a deputation from the Government of India to enquire into and report on the conditions of the Indians in this country, the latter through their accredited representatives submitted a memorandum to him giving a detailed account of their grievances. The memorandum presented the following minimum conditions for the consideration of the Government of India for the resumption of emigration of Indian labour into this country:

1. Fixing of standard minimum rates of wages with provisions for full wages during sickness, periodical bonus and gratuity for long service.
2. A definite and feasible colonisation scheme.
3. Better provision in regard to health and medical treatment with special reference to child birth and child welfare.
4. A better scheme for the education of labourers' children not only in vernacular but also with provision for higher education in English to the more intelligent boys.
5. A definite declaration of the equality of political status to all Indians born in Malaya (including labourers' children) with no discrimination in the matter of employment or other civic rights.

The visit of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru to Malaya in May, 1937, and his stirring addresses to his countrymen here kindled to a remarkable degree their patriotic fervour and devotion towards India. Apprised of the real state of affairs in Malaya, he assured the Indians here that the Indian National Congress would take increasing and sustaining interest in their welfare and would leave no stone unturned to ensure that their legitimate rights received due recognition at the hands of the Malayan Government. The awakening of their national consciousness made the Indian masses here feel that they were the sons and daughters of a great land destined to play a great part in the political future of East Asia. In one of his addresses to his countrymen Pandit Nehru asked: "What have you done for India's freedom? It affects your livelihood, your honour and your prestige. If India is free, she will be capable of looking after you. If she is helpless, she cannot look after you. This affects every Indian. Circumstances have made the Indians poor and humble to-day. Freedom does not consist in getting high posts for a few Indians. It is a struggle for national freedom. It is freedom for 350,000,000 people. We want that freedom in our hands and not in the hands of the British. Great nations are made through difficulties. We are overcoming such difficulties, and in China also they are overcoming them, and we shall succeed in the

end. India and China are predominantly pacific nations. To those of my countrymen, I would ask them to remember the Malays, the sons of the soil. In the long sense the Malays are our cousins. I want you to be sharers when the time comes."

At the end of 1938 considerable discontent was prevalent among the estate labour population when the minimum standard rates of wages of 50 and 40 cents for a male and a female respectively were reduced to 40 and 32 cents under the pretext of one cent per lb. drop in the rubber price without even referring the matter to the Government of India. This discontent had its repercussions in India in that the Congress Ministries then in power put a ban on Indian emigration to this country. After the outbreak of the second World War on September 1, 1939, rubber prices went up almost to three times the pre-war rates, but wages remained the same. Subsequently, when the labour clamoured for an increase in 1940, wages were restored to the minimum standard rates of 50 and 40 cents.

In the mean time war clouds were gathering over the Pacific. Tens of thousands of British, Indian and Australian troops were brought to Malaya for its defence. The cost of living went up by leaps and bounds. When the Indian labourers demanded an increase in their wages commensurate with the high living cost, the employers turned down their demands, adding insult to injury by comparing their wages with those paid in India and by threatening that they would be replaced by Javanese and Chinese labourers.

Early in 1941 the Indian labourers on certain estates in Selangor made bold to put forth their demands to the employers and the Controller of Labour, Kuala Lumpur, in a constitutional manner. The demands inter alia were: 1. Increase of wages to meet the high cost of living. 2. Replacement of clerks and conductors accused of ill-treatment and misbehaviour. 3. Proper education to labourers' children. 4. Protection of women from unscrupulous managers, clerks and conductors. 5. Proper medical aid. 6. Abolition of toddy shops. 7. Freedom to hold meetings on estates with outside speakers. 8. Permission to relatives and friends to visit labourers in their lines. 9. Eight hours a day work. 10. Abolition of arbitrary dismissal of labourers on baseless charges. 11. Establishment of an unofficial Indian Board to safeguard labourers' interests. 12. Admission of educated Indians to Government service. 13. Abolition of recruitment of unskilled Indian labour through kangany system.

The demands made by the labourers became a voice in the wilderness. Instead of trying to meet the demands as far as possible and justifiable, the employers resorted to many ways of reprisal,

The Indian labourers of Klang and Banting districts went on strike. To cow them into submission, water supply and food rations were entirely cut off and they were asked to quit the lines. Sympathetic Indians in nearby towns were prevented from supplying the strikers, out of humanitarian considerations, with food and water and from giving them any sort of help and were threatened with proceedings under Emergency Ordinance. Many labourers and their dependants suffered extreme privation. Police help was sought to eject the strikers from their lines. The strike spread to the other parts of Selangor either in sympathy with original strikers or for similar grievances. The European managers of estates took law into their own hands and manhandled all those whom they considered ring-leaders or principal agitators. Thus ensued an open clash between the Indian labourers on one side and the European managers and their henchmen on the other. In the name of law and order the Government intervened, taking the side of the employers, and requisitioned the services of regular troops under emergency powers, who patrolled the affected areas with all the instruments of the mechanised warfare. And what happened to both sides still remains a mystery.

The repressive methods adopted by the Malayan Administration resulted in a feeling of aversion among the Indian community towards British Imperialism and in a longing for freedom from foreign domination. This was the state of affairs in Malaya and East Asia vis-a-vis the Indian community when Japan declared war on Britain and America on December 8, 1941, and started hostilities in East Asia with slogans of "New Order", "Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere" and "Asia for Asiatics".

CHAPTER—II

THE EAST ASIA WAR

On December 7, 1941, while still carrying on negotiations with the United States of America for the preservation of peace in the Pacific, Japan struck a surprise blow at Pearl Harbour, as a grand prelude to her advance into the Southern Regions, and caused heavy damage to five U. S. battleships. During the following night her troops made landings in Siam and North-East Malaya. Both Britain and United States of America declared war on Japan, while attacks were opened on Guam, Midway, Wake Islands and the Philippines. At daybreak on December 8, 1941, a Japanese fleet appeared off the coast of Kota Bharu in Malaya. After having successfully effected

several landings, in the face of hostile fire, on the sandy beaches of Kota Bharu, Singora and Patani, the Japanese Army swept down the Malay Peninsula in three separate drives, brushing aside the attacks of the British Forces. One Japanese Army marched down the west coast, while another slashed its way through virgin jungles of Kelantan and Pahang. The third drive was down the eastern coast of Malaya from Kota Bharu.

On December 10 the aerodrome at Kota Bharu fell into Japanese hands. Only two days after the outbreak of hostilities the Japanese Navy gained complete mastery in the South Pacific by sinking the "Prince of Wales" (35,000 tons) and the "Repulse" (32,000 tons) on the morning of December 10. The Japanese Navy struck simultaneously at every nerve centre of the Anglo-American naval power in the Pacific—Hawaii, Wake, Guam, the Philippines and Hongkong.

The drive towards Singapore resulted in a series of great victories. On December 12 the Japanese Forces knifed through the Jitra line, penetrating deep into the State of Kedah, which was occupied four days later. In swift succession Sungei Patani, Penang, Buntar Bharu, Kuala Krai and Trengganu fell into Japanese hands. After the fall of the island of Penang on December 19, the British Forces in the northern sector of the Peninsula retreated pell-mell, hoping to put up a defence somewhere further south. But the Japanese Army repeatedly adopted encirclement tactics with great success, which gave no time for the retreating British Forces to put up their defence. Crossing the Perak River on December 26, the Japanese Army occupied Ipoh, the largest town in the State of Perak, on December 28. The Japanese vanguard stormed into Tanjong Malim on January 8, 1942, and entered Kuala Lumpur, the capital of Federated Malay States, on January 11. Within four days of its entry into Kuala Lumpur the Japanese Army extended its command to the western coast, occupying Sepang on the border of Negri Sembilan and entering Seremban, the capital of the State.

In the mean time the Japanese Forces, which had landed on the eastern coast of Malaya, were steadily marching along the river valleys of Pahang. Trengganu was occupied on December 22 and these forces were unhampered in their southern drive to join with the rest of the Army marching down the western coast. Gemas, the junction of the two main railway lines running along the length of the Peninsula, was taken on January 16. From here started the great onslaught on Singapore, the mightiest British Naval Base in the Far East.

The rest of January was spent in completing and consolidating the occupation of the mainland. Malacca, Batu Pahat, Batu Annam,

Segamat and Endau fell in turn within January 20. Kluang with its great air-field was occupied on January 26. A decisive naval battle took place in the Straits of Malacca on January 29, when the British destroyer "Thanet" was sunk. The last day of January saw the entry of the Japanese Forces into Johore Bharu, the last remaining foothold on the Peninsula. Thus the 55-day drive of the Japanese from Singora was completed at the rate of about 20 kilometres a day.

At one end Hongkong, deprived of water, surrendered on Christmas Day, 1941, which also saw the fall of North Borneo at another end. Wake Island was occupied on December 23, while Manila, the capital of the Philippines, and Cavite fell of January 2, 1942.

On February 4, 1942, orders were given by Lt.-General Tomoyuki Yamashita, Supreme Commander of the Japanese Expeditionary Forces in Malaya, for a general assault on Singapore after the British had turned down his demand for unconditional surrender. A four-day terrific barrage by artillery and bombardment by aircraft preceded the landing of the Japanese Forces on the night of February 8. The end came on February 15 at 12.30 p.m. when three British officers carrying a white flag approached the Japanese Army at a sports ground north of Bukit Timah and proposed to discuss terms of truce. When the first proposal was rejected, Lt.-General A. E. Percival, accompanied by his Chief of Staff, motored to the Ford Motor Company factory at 2.40 p.m., carrying a large Union Jack and a white flag. Terms for unconditional surrender were signed at 5 p.m. Thus ended the historic battle for Malaya.

Before the invasion of Java preliminary operations were carried out by the Japanese for the capture of air bases in the surrounding islands. Air bases at Bandjermasin in Borneo, Maccasar and Kendari in the Celebes, Palembang and Tanjoeng Karang in Sumatra and the islands of Timor and Bali were occupied with a view to isolating Java. Before the invasion began, a naval battle occurred at Bantam Bay in the early hours of March 1 between the remnants of the Netherlands East Indies Fleet, which were joined by the American Fleet that had escaped from the Philippines, and the Japanese naval units which had entered the Java Sea on February 27 and proceeded unnoticed to the western extremity of the island. The battle was a decisive victory for Japan, the U.S. cruiser "Houston" and the Australian cruiser "Perth" having been sunk. By dawn the entire Japanese forces had landed and proceeded to make contact with the main army which was landing at Merak at the north-eastern extremity of Java. Other units of the Japanese Army were also making landings at various points along the northern coast of the island. By March 3 a Japanese unit was consolidating

its control of the Kalidjati air-field, 120 kilometres east of Batavia. It was on the same day that the Dutch, British and American forces at Batavia had begun a general retreat to Bandoeng, the main centre of the defence of Java. A terrific air attack on Bandoeng started on March 5. The advance guard of the main army, brushing aside an enemy force stormed into Buitenzorg, the residence of the Governor-General, 50 miles south of Batavia, on March 6. The following morning Lt.-General Imamura, the Supreme Commander, entered Batavia itself, which had fallen the previous day. On the morning of March 8 the Dutch headquarters in Bandoeng sued for surrender after the fall of Surakarta in central Java on March 4 and Jogjakarta on March 5. Lt.-General Imamura hurried from Batavia to Kalidjati air-field and met in conference Starkenborg, the Commander-in-Chief of the Netherlands East Indies Army, and Governor-General Tjarda, when the Dutch signed an unconditional surrender. Java had finally fallen. Lt.-General Imamura entered Bandoeng in triumph on March 10. 1942.

Early on the morning of March 12 the Japanese Forces landed simultaneously at Sabang, Kota Raja and Medan in Northern Sumatra. Sagli, which commands the northern entrance into the Straits of Malacca, was taken on March 13. The Dutch forces in Sumatra surrendered on March 27 finding that any more resistance against the lightning onslaughts of the Japanese would be useless.

While the campaign in North Sumatra was in progress, the Japanese Forces captured the Andamans, an important British strategic base in the Bay of Bengal.

The war had spread into Burma early in January and the British troops withdrew from Moulmein at the end of the month. There were three main drives in Burma—northward to Mandalay and Myitkyina; north-eastward to Lashio; and north-westward to Akyab and Kalewa, branching from Prome. After the fall of Moulmein, a further one month or more of hard fighting took the Japanese to Rangoon, which was occupied by them on March 8. In the north-eastward drive towards Lashio the Japanese Forces met with strong resistance put up by two Chinese units in co-operation with the British Army. The main lines of the Japanese advance lay along the Irrawady, Sittang and Salween Rivers, leading into Central and Eastern Burma. Tungoo was occupied on March 26. The Japanese forces advancing along the Irrawady took Prome on April 2.

By April 27 the Japanese were within 70 miles of Mandalay. In the mean time, when Chungking forces were massing along the Mandalay-Lashio Railway line, Lashio itself, the starting point of the famous Burma Road, was taken by the Japanese on April 29.

After the fall of Mandalay on May 1, the British troops started their retreat towards the Indian frontier. Chungking forces were trapped between Mandalay and Lashio. At Kalewa, 50 miles north-west of Mandalay, an encircling engagement against the British forces took place in the first week of May. The Japanese Army advancing in the north-easterly direction penetrated into Yunnan from Lashio occupying Lungling, another point on the Burma Road. With the fall of Akyab, the strategic port close to the southern extremity of Burma-India border, on May 4, the Burma campaign came to an end.

Thus within a period of less than six months from the outbreak of the East Asia War, the colonial empires of the ABCD (America, Britain, China and Dutch) Powers in this part of the world were lost to the Japanese.



LT. GEN PERCIVAL SURRENDERS

CHAPTER—III

ORIGIN OF THE INDIAN INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENT

With the declaration of war by Japan on Britain and the United States of America on December 8, 1941, started the Indian Independence Movement in East Asia. Many a patriot who had been working in Japan, China and Thailand for decades for the liberation of the Motherland hailed this opportunity as god-sent for organising an armed resistance outside India with the active co-operation and support of Japan. On the same day with dramatic promptness Indians in Tokyo met at the Rainbow Grill and decided upon a programme of action for launching the movement. They formed a committee with Rash Behari Bose, the arch-revolutionary of Bengal on whose head was placed a reward by the British Government for his attempt on the life of Lord Hardinge, then Viceroy of India, on 12-12-1912, as President. Steps were at once taken to arouse Indian opinion in East Asia in favour of armed fight from without. Meetings were held in different centres in Japan and resolutions passed emphasising the importance of the Indians in East Asia availing themselves of this opportunity.

Again on December 26, 1941, a conference of nearly fifty representatives of Indians resident in Tokyo, Kobe, Osaka and Yokohama, was held at the Railway Hotel, Tokyo, for considering various problems in connection with the movement. The following resolution was passed:

"Whereas the continued defeat of the British and their allies in Europe and Africa has sealed the fate of British imperialism in Europe;

"Whereas the most decisive destruction of British sea and land forces by Japan in the East has given a death blow to the power and prestige of British imperialism in Asia;

"Whereas the war is fast approaching the shores and borders of India, the British stronghold, and Axis Powers may be obliged to invade India in order to destroy the main source of British fighting strength;

"Whereas such an invasion will bring unimaginable and extreme hardships, miseries and sufferings to millions of helpless and innocent Indians in cities, towns and villages;

"Whereas the only way to avoid this most unhappy situation is to declare complete independence from British rule and to cut off all possible connections with British imperialism in every possible way immediately;

"The Indian nationals residing in Japan assembled in this conference most seriously and earnestly appeal to the Indian National Congress and the people of India to immediately declare independence and to capture all power from the British in India and to take

immediate effective steps to stop each and every source of Indian aid to the British imperialist war, and to declare on behalf of the people that India has no desire whatsoever to be involved in this conflict and has never been willing to help Britain."

The movement spread with a rapidity that kept pace with the lightning advance of the Japanese Army in the Southern Regions. Chief among the workers of the movement that accompanied the Army was Sardar Pritam Singh of Thailand, who started his work in Malaya in right earnest, interviewing the leaders of the Indian community and impressing upon them the imperative need of founding an organisation in Malaya for the furtherance of the movement which was then known as the "Independence League of India." The fact that the inaugural meeting of the Kuala Lumpur branch of the Independence League was held on January 16, 1942, only five days after the entry of the Japanese army into the former Federal Capital, speaks volumes for the indefatigable work put in by Sardar Pritam Singh.

The meeting was held at the Police Depot padang, Kuala Lumpur, and attended by a large gathering of Indians from all parts of Selangor. Colonel Fujiyama, the first Governor of Selangor, and Major Fujiwara, a Staff Officer of the Imperial Japanese Army, were present. The Japanese flag, Hinomaru, and the national tri-colour flag of India fluttered over the meeting place. With the shouts of Vande Mataram renting the sky, Sardar Pritam Singh rose to address the gathering. Explaining the object of the meeting, he said that on account of the magnanimity of the Japanese they were allowed to organise their independence movement and work for the liberation of their Motherland. When he conferred with the Japanese authorities, Mr. Pritam Singh said, he had to discuss problems relating to Indians and Japan's attitude towards India. The Japanese Government was prepared to offer every assistance to Indians in their struggle for obtaining India's freedom. The British had done no good for the people of this country and Indians here had not been friends of the British. They should join the Independence League of India forthwith as volunteers and work for the liberation of their Motherland. The objects of the League were: 1. To secure the freedom of India; and 2. To co-operate with Japan in her undertaking of establishing New Order in East Asia.

Addressing the gathering in Japanese, Col. Fujiyama said that it gave him very great pleasure to see a large gathering of Indians assembled there to inaugurate the Kuala Lumpur branch of the Independence League of India. He paid tribute to the indefatigable endeavours of Sardar Pritam Singh in organising the independence movement in Malaya. The speaker explained why Japan had to fight Britain and America, who were preventing Japan from establishing

New Order in East Asia. Japan was out to liberate Asiatics from Anglo-Saxon yoke and influence so that Asiatics might be masters in their own countries. He hoped that the Indians would offer Japan their sincere co-operation and support. Col. Fujiyama wished the Independence League of India every success and urged all Indians in Malaya to become members of the League by enrolling themselves as volunteers. He assured the gathering that the Japanese Government would give them every possible assistance. His speech, which was received with rousing cheers by the gathering, was translated into English by a Japanese officer named Ottogoro and into Tamil by Mr. K. A. Neelakanda Iyer, the then Secretary of the Malayan Branch of the Bombay Life Insurance Co., Ltd.

Major Fujiwara, in a well-reasoned speech, explained the objects of the East Asia War waged by Japan and fervently hoped that Indians in Malaya would offer their sincere and whole-hearted co-operation to Japan He appealed to the gathering to join the League and enrol themselves as volunteers.

The leaders of the Indian community in Selangor did not allow grass to grow under their feet but forthwith started to form a committee, which held its first meeting at the Selangor Indian Association, Kuala Lumpur, on January 30, 1942. Centres for enrolling members were opened at various places in Kuala Lumpur and outstations, and 20,000 members had been enrolled within a fortnight of the inaugural meeting.

Workers of the movement were sent to Shanghai by the Tokyo League and on January 26 a public meeting of the Indians of Shanghai was held at the Young Men's Association Hall, when the resolution passed at Tokyo was approved and whole-hearted support accorded to the independence movement.

In the mean time branches of the League were opened at other places in Malaya and elsewhere in East Asia in the wake of the Japanese Army, and soon after the fall of Singapore on February 15, 1942, a Central Committee to direct League work in Malaya was formed with Mr. N. Raghavan as President and Mr. B. K. Das as Secretary.

The League Headquarters at Tokyo established contact with the military and civil authorities in Japan and impressed upon them the necessity of helping India in her struggle for freedom. It was made clear to them that so long as the British continued to keep their hold on India Japan could not rest on her laurels in East Asia. Consequently, the Premier of Japan, General Hideki Tojo, in his declaration before the Imperial Diet after the fall of Singapore, said:—

"It is a golden opportunity for India, having, as it does,

several thousand years of history and splendid cultural traditions, to rid herself of the ruthless despotism of Britain and participate in the construction of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere. Japan expects that India will attain her proper status and will not stint herself in extending assistance to the patriotic efforts of the Indians. Should India fail to awaken to her mission forgetting her history and tradition and continue as before to be beguiled by the British cajolery and manipulation and act at their beck and call, I cannot but fear that an opportunity for the rennaissance of the Indian people would be for ever lost".

Encouraged by Premier Tojo's declaration that his Government was prepared to help the Indians in their struggle for freedom, the Tokyo League established its headquarters at Sanno Hotel and started its activities in right earnest.

CHAPTER—IV

TOKYO CONFERENCE

In the mean time branches of the League were opened in various territories in East Asia, and it was decided to hold a conference of representatives of the various League organisations in Tokyo in March, 1942, for deciding on future measures. With the help of Nippon Military authorities arrangements were made for the representatives residing in Malaya, Thailand, Hongkong and Shanghai to attend the Conference. But, as Fate would have it, the Conference was not thoroughly representative and auspicious, for it had to hold its sessions under the shadow of an unfortunate air tragedy.

Prior to the Tokyo Conference a Territorial Conference of Indians in Malaya was held on March 9, 1942, at which it was decided to send a Goodwill Mission to the Tokyo Conference. Accordingly, early in the morning of March 11 a party of delegates comprising Mr. K. A. Neelakanda Iyer of Malaya, Swami Satyananda Puri and Sardar Pritam Singh of Thailand, Captain Mohamed Akram Khan of the Indian National Army, and Mr. Ottogoro, a Japanese interpreter, left Singapore civil aerodrome for Saigon on their way to Tokyo. Another party of Malayan Indian delegates including Mr. N. Raghavan, who left Singapore on March 15, has already reached Tokyo and were awaiting the arrival of their colleagues with not a little trepidation, but nothing was heard about the ill-fated plane, which was later stated to have been nearing Tokyo on the 24th.

Months later their remains were discovered on a mountain top in the Imperial Forests at Mount Shirakura in Shizuoka Prefecture. At the memorial service held at Hongenji Temple, Tokyo, Premier

Tojo said: "The cause for which they gave up their lives need not go in vain. With Japan's support the four hundred million Indians must no longer submit to the British policy of exploitation, since the time has come for the end of a long history of British imperialism with the ushering in of New Order in Greater East Asia. In expressing sympathy over the loss of the four heroic souls I pledge to extend all possible aid for the complete independence of India."

The Conference was held under the chairmanship of Mr. Rash Behari Bose at Sanno Hotel, Tokyo, Japan, from Saturday, March 28, 1942, to Monday, March 30, 1942, at which the following representatives were present:—

Malaya:—Messrs N. Raghavan, K. P. K. Menon, S. C. Goho, Captain Mohan Singh and Colonel N. S. Gill.

Hongkong:—Messrs. D. M. Khan and M. R. Mullick.

Shanghai:—Messrs. O. Asman and Piara Singh.

Japan:—Messrs. D. S. Deshpande, A. M. Nair, C. Lingam, B. D. Gupta, S. N. Sen, Rajah Sherman, L. R. Miglani and K. V. Narain.

General Tojo, the Premier of Japan, addressed the Conference as follows:—

"I wish to express my great pleasure at this opportunity to greet Indians in Japan as well as Indians who have come to this country from Shanghai, Hongkong, Thailand and Malaya. At the same time I cannot but express my deep sorrow over the unfortunate accident involving the death of some of the representatives, the lack of whose presence we regret on this occasion.

"I believe you are quite aware of the fact that the British Empire is fast heading towards its downfall and the world situation is going through events which are hard to foresee. The Japanese Empire is determined to go ahead with its mission of destruction of the Anglo-Saxon power, and will not rest until that mission is fulfilled. Here I want to state frankly that the Japanese Government cannot remain indifferent to the fact that Britain is going to make India the base of its Eastern defence. In view of this fact, the Japanese Government sincerely expects that Indians would throw away the British yoke by themselves and create an Independent India. I hope when you go back to your respective places you would make this feeling of ours clear to your countrymen and work unitedly to exterminate the British yoke and create an India for Indians. As has been repeatedly stressed by me, the Japanese Government is fully sympathetic towards your efforts and will not hesitate to render all possible help in this respect. The true intentions of the Japanese Government in connection with the bombing of British

military bases in Ceylon has been clarified by me in my statement issued yesterday.

"In conclusion, I pray that you may have a safe return journey and that your movement may bear full fruit in the near future."

Mr. Rash Behari Bose, the Chairman, opened the conference at 2 p.m. with a welcome address to all the delegates and others present and requested their whole-hearted co-operation in the attainment of the common object, viz., the complete independence of India.

At the outset, the Chairman expressed heartfelt condolence on the sad demise of the four colleagues, namely Messrs. Pritam Singh and Satyananda Puri from Thailand and Messrs. K. A. Neelakanda Iyer and Mohamed Akram Khan from Malaya. All stood up and offered silent prayer for the repose of the souls of the departed patriots. The Conference resolved to send letters of condolence to the bereaved families and Mr. Raghavan undertook the responsibility of conveying the letters. The resolutions read as follows.—

That this Conference is shocked and grieved at the news of the air disaster in which four Indian representatives, Mr. K. A. N. Iyer and Captain Mohamed Akram Khan from Malaya and Sardar Pritam Singh and Swami Satyananda Puri from Thailand, who were travelling to Tokyo, lost their lives; and while expressing its deep sense of sorrow places on record the great loss to the movement in particular, and to Indians in general, caused by their untimely deaths.

That a copy of this resolution be sent with the condolence of this Conference to the members of the bereaved families.

That this Conference sends its sincerest condolences and sympathies to the members of the bereaved families of Mr. Ottogoro and six other Japanese gentlemen who lost their lives while travelling by plane to Tokyo.

At this stage Colonel Iwagoro, who attended as a representative of the Government of Japan, gave an address of welcome to the members of the Conference. On behalf of the Imperial Government of Japan he expressed whole-hearted support to this Conference in its noble efforts to achieve independence of India. He said:— "It is my great pleasure to greet you at this Conference which would mark the birth of New India. To-day your dual ideology of 'Independence of India' and 'India for Indians,' over which you have been most concerned, is going to be realized before long, because it is my belief that the outbreak of this war has created an opportunity which is most favourable for its realization. If you lose this golden opportunity by being cowardly, lazy or too much involved in mutual antagonism, you and your descendants would remain as slaves for, nobody knows, how long. The objective world situation is rapidly changing. It is your mission to prepare fully

and immediately so as to adjust yourselves for the fast changing times and to liberate India from the British yoke. We, the Japanese, are prepared to give spiritual and material aid to your revolutionary task without any compensation or condition. It is needless to say that our common enemy, Britain, will employ every means, such as deceipt, bribery, 'divide and rule policy' and threats. On these points we must be very cautious. 'Heaven helps those who help themselves.' Indian independence cannot be a gift from anybody, far less from India's enemy, Britain, from whom you can only expect oppression. India's able leaders must make good use of the surrounding international conditions, in order to lessen the amount of sacrifices involved. On her part, what Japan expects from India is that she should do away with all the retarding ideas of religious and class antagonisms and the various rivalries between political and military ways of thought, and become united body of 400,000,000 to proceed along the way of independence; that she should realize that the realization of Indian independence in itself is a great revolution to be led to succeed only on the strength of her leaders' firm determination and of the fiery patriotism of all the Indians; and that, realizing that one action is superior to hundreds of arguments, she should make use of conditions surrounding her and advance for the attainment of independence. And we wish to assure you that Japan has not the slightest territorial or political ambition on India, and that she will not hesitate to extend any help to the Indians in their fight and that without any ulterior motive. Please take your own time and engage yourselves in calm deliberations, so that you may arrive at a plan of action which may be beneficial for future India as well as future East Asia. This is my request to you all, and it comes from the bottom of my heart."

Mr. Raghavan, on behalf of the Conference, thanked suitably Colonel Iwagoro and through him the Imperial Japanese Government and the Japanese people for their kind encouragement.

The attitude of the Indians regarding this war was then taken up and the following resolution was read and unanimously passed:—

"Whereas we believe that this war of Greater East Asia is sure to destroy British influence and power in Asia;

"Whereas we believe that this is a golden opportunity for the realization of India's national goal which is nothing but complete independence; and

"Whereas depending upon the self-conscious efforts of various Asiatic nations a new Asia is sure to arise as a result of this war,

"We hereby resolve that we must join hands with Japan in accordance with the declared policy of the Imperial Japanese

Government made known through Premier General Tojo on the occasion of the fall of Singapore."

After discussions, in which all members participated, it was resolved that "Unity, Faith, Sacrifice," shall be the motto of the Independence Movement.

The meaning of "Complete Independence of India" was fully clarified and the following resolution was unanimously passed: "That independence complete and free from foreign domination, interference and/or control of whatever nature, shall be the object of the movement and in the opinion of the Conference now is the right time to achieve the object and secure such independence."

To spread the Independence Movement in East Asia and in India, it was unanimously decided as follows:—

"**East Asia**—By broadcast, leaflets, pamphlets, newspaper articles, lectures, demonstrations, music, etc.

"**India**—By broadcast, leaflets, pamphlets, infiltration, establishment of contacts with Indian leaders and organizations, etc., etc.

"**Organization**—Formation of local branches of the League. For the duration of war the President to be elected by committee formed at a meeting of the representatives of the place. Vacancy on the committee to be filled by the majority votes of the committee. President, not removable without the vote of the three-fourths of the members of the committee. The Presidents of the various local branches together with the representatives of the Indian National Army in East Asia which representatives shall not exceed the total number of civilian members of the committee, will form a Committee of Representatives, who will lay down the general policy of action and elect a Council of Action, consisting of a President and four staff members, of whom at least two shall be from the Military."

The Council of Action shall be responsible for the working out of the general policy and in such working out they shall appoint departmental officers for the purpose of administration.

DEPARTMENTS.

Civil:—(a) Foreign Department or Liaison Department, (b) Finance Department, (c) Legal Department, (d) Propaganda Department, (e) Administration of Branches, (f) Relief Department, (g) Civil Police and Intelligence Department and (h) Civil Volunteers Department.

Military:—**Indian National Army Headquarters**:—(a) War Department, (b) Recruits Department, (c) Military Intelligence and Military Police Department and (d) Prisoners of War Department.

It is resolved that, if, in the discretion of the Council of Action, it is feasible to summon a meeting of the representatives and take

their advice on the matter of general policy the Council shall do so. It is resolved that, before taking any military action against India, including Ceylon, contrary to the wishes, policy or opinion of the Indian National Congress, the Council of Action shall first get the approval of the Committee of Representatives and act as directed.

We request that military action against India will be taken only by the Indian National Army and under the command of Indians, together with such military, naval and air co-operation and assistance as may be requested from the Japanese authorities by the Council of Action.

REQUEST TO IMPERIAL JAPANESE GOVERNMENT.

It is resolved that, in further clarification of the attitude of Japan towards India, the Imperial Gcvernment of Japan be requested to make a formal declaration to the effect:—

(a) That Japan is ready and willing to give all possible help to India to sever its connection from the British Empire to attain complete independence.

(b) That on such severance of India from the British Empire Japan would recognize the full sovereignty of India on attaining independence.

(c) That absolute independence of India would be guaranteed by the Imperial Government of Japan.

(d) That the Imperial Government of Japan would exercise its influence with other Powers and induce them to recognize the independence and sovereignty of India.

(e) That the framing of the future constitution of India will be left entirely to the representatives of the people of India.

(f) To render such financial help for the successful carrying out of our object as may be required from time to time, on the distinct understanding that such help is to be treated as a loan to be repaid to Japan by the National Government of Independent India, when it comes into being.

(g) To give all facilities for propaganda, travel, transport and communications within the area under the control of the Imperial Japanese Government in the manner and to the extent requested by the Council of Action and also all facilities to come into contact with the National leaders, workers and organisations in India.

(h) To clarify the position of the Indian troops now under her control in occupied territories.

(i) To recognize and facilitate the use of the present National Flag of India in all territories under the Imperial Government of Japan

(j) To consult in all matters of administration affecting the Indian community the Indian Independence League organizations of the respective places, and in places where there are no such organizations, recognized leaders of the community approved by the League branch nearest to such places.

RESOLUTION ON INTERIM CONSTITUTION.

This Conference resolves:—

(a) That in order to obtain full support and co-operation of Indians in various parts of Greater East Asia, a fuller conference of Indian representatives should be called at Rangoon or any other suitable place at the earliest opportunity and that Mr. Rash Behari Bose is hereby authorised to take the necessary steps to give effect to the various decisions made by this Conference pending their ratification at a later Conference as stated above.

(b) That this Conference hereby appoints Mr. Rash Behari Bose as interim President of the Council of Action.

(c) That the next Conference shall be held before the 1st of June, 1942, if possible, and in any case not later than the 1st of July, 1942, and the interim President shall make the necessary arrangements.

(d) That at the next Conference, besides the Presidents and/or representatives of various branches of Indian Independence League as hereinafter limited (in person or proxy) and military representatives of Indian Army in East Asia, all the members attending this Conference should also be invited to attend.

(e) That this Conference is committed to a definite policy of the closest co-operation with Japan and it shall, on eliciting an official definition of the term "Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere" and its implications, endeavour by every possible means at the command of this movement to persuade Independent India to be a member of the Sphere on a footing of equality with Japan and to confer on Japan the Most-Favoured-Nation treatment on a reciprocal basis.

(f) That this Conference places on record its profound gratitude to the Imperial Government of Japan for the active sympathy for the cause of Indian independence and expresses its thanks for their generous hospitality and for the ample facilities provided for the successful termination of this Conference.

(g) That this Conference places on record its profound thanks to Mr. Rash Behari Bose who, by tact, patience and geniality as Chairman, contributed not a little to the success of this Conference.

(h) That, while they individually find themselves in perfect agreement with the decisions of this Conference, the members of

the goodwill mission of Malaya hereby make their position clear in taking part in this Conference that they do not commit the Indians ir Malaya to the decisions of this Conference, but will try their best to induce them to the views of the Conference.

Mr. Asman's suggestions on education and other matters given below are noted for action at the opportune time:—

1. Specific instructions should be given to any troops attacking India to refrain themselves and to stop others from destroying or damaging places of worship belonging to the various religious bodies in order to avoid any sort of friction liable to be caused by such sabotage acts.

2. As soon as possible the property of the Indian Government and other rich Indians considered pro-British including the Indian Princes should be placed under the joint control and custody of the occupying Indian troops to avoid embezzlement, looting, etc., so that on the expiration of the war the Indian Government may be in a position to cover up the expenses.

3. In all kinds of Government affairs, external or internal, the Indian religious leaders should not be consulted and their membership should never be taken in various State Councils.

4. Compulsory education, irrespective of male and female sects, should be started as soon as possible on realization of the independence of India.

5. Various societies opened in different cities found not in favour of achieving complete independence of India and not co-operating with the main body, should be dissolved as soon as possible.

6. Able and patriotic volunteers should be enlisted from each and every part of East Asia including Shanghai, Hongkong, Java, Sumatra, etc., etc., so that they can enjoy equal privileges and partake in serving their Motherland.

7. All Indian nationals, irrespective of their financial standing, class or religion, should be treated on equal footing in the matter of State affairs.

8. In war time just as women in all countries of the world are allowed to take full share in rendering their best services for the freedom of their respective countries, similarly Indian women are also anxious to fulfill their duty, in every possible way, for the freedom of their country. But during the British reign, the women of India have not been given the same power and freedom which the men have been enjoying so far, as a result of which women in India have not been allowed to take part in Government affairs. In order to raise them to the same standard of freedom as men, we

should allow them the discretion of taking active part in serving our Motherland, even against the wishes of their parents, husbands and other relatives, supposed to be pro-British.

9. Military training should be considered a compulsory part of education.

Finally, it was decided that the next Conference to ratify these decisions should be held at Bangkok in the 3rd week of May, 1942, and representatives and/or Presidents not exceeding the number indicated below may attend the said Conference:—

Japan 8, Malaya 20, Shanghai 8, Port Blair 2, Hongkong 8, Macao and Manila 2, Burma 20, Thailand 9, Indo-China 5, East Indies (Java, Sumatra. etc.) 8, totalling in all 90, to whom representatives of the Indian Army in East Asia will also be added as previously agreed to.

CHAPTER—V

"KIKAN"

The first Japanese liaison officer attached to the Indian Independence Movement since its inception was Major Fujiwara, and his department was known as "Fujiwara Kikan" in Japanese. Kikan means a section of a department and, in this case, it is a division of the department of the Japanese Foreign Ministry. As stated before, Major Fujiwara was present at the inaugural meeting of the Kuala Lumpur Branch of the Independence League of India. The part played by him on the side of the Japanese in organising the Independence Movement in Malaya and in rendering the Movement every help was great. His intimate association with the first and foremost organisers of the Movement in Thailand and Malaya can be gauged from the speech he addressed at the memorial meeting held in Singapore on April 24, 1942, to the spirits of the four Indian patriots who lost their lives in an air accident on their way to Tokyo. Major Fujiwara stated:—

"It was on the early morning of 11th March when you, four comrades of mine, started from Singapore Civil Aerodrome in high spirits with burning passion for your mother country and with the noble aim of India's independence.

"You, the spirits of the glorious dead, it is tragic you cannot speak, but I remember you departing in high spirits so vividly as if it took place yesterday. I have no words to express my heart-felt praise for you when I think of your manly resolution to fly in bad weather to attend the Tokyo Conference which decided the very big problem of helping India to free herself from the yoke of

British rule. I have no words to express your mental anguish when at the last moment, when Tokyo was only a stone's throw away from you, the aeroplane crashed into the sea with your comrade Otaguro, the Nippon-English interpreter. We deeply grieve and mourn this destiny of God. 400 millions in India mourn your loss with deep regret.

"I look back with pride on my association with Sardar Pritam Singh and Swami Satyananda Puri in Bangkok when the war clouds were hanging so low over Asia and with Mr. Iyer and Capt. Mohd. Akram, when the whole of Malaya was covered with strife and bloodshed; on our belief, knowledge and ambition to help 400 million Indian masses to attain complete independence; on our complete faith in the strong union of Nippon and Hindustan. We vowed to each other that it would give us the greatest satisfaction to sacrifice our lives for the sake of this noble mission. Hence we helped each other and ran about here and there under the enemy's fire. Inspired by this great idea we found 'Light'. These numerous people who are now in your presence are the very people who had been saved by your ardent courage and great mercy. These people will carry on your noble ideal. There are many comrades scattered all over Malaya who cannot participate in this service to-day. They have the same feelings and are offering the same prayers. They appreciate whole-heartedly that your efforts to rouse feelings of sympathy in Greater East Asia for Indian independence are bearing fruit. I recall to my memory your sublime activities, grand merits, deep friendship and trust shown to me and my staff. I recall to my memory countless impressions given to me in your private and public lives.

"I cannot help feeling again in great sorrow and restlessness that I lost my most intimate and great comrades. Your sacrifices created a great and everlasting impression both in India and Nippon. They achieved great success for the Tokyo Conference. The Indian Independence Movement, initiated by you and supported by general public opinion both in Japan and Hindustan, is about to make a glorious start. You will be satisfied to see that your mother country rejected unanimously the ridiculous proposals of the British Government and is going to spring forward to uphold honourable aims. I take consolation in the thought that your heroic deaths and sacrifices during your life contributed so much to the freedom of your Motherland stimulating the hearts of your countrymen. I am sure that your glorious deaths will be written in golden letters in the history of the Indian Independence Movement. They will remain as everlasting beacon light in the memory of your countrymen,

spurring them on in the achievement of your noble ideals. I pay my highest respects to your spirits. I have full confidence that in the near future we shall perform what you undertook with your comrades. I offer in front of your spirits the gorgeous wreath 'India for Indians', and 'Complete Independence of India'.

"I close my message of condolence with the prayers of my staff so intimately associated with you, that your spirits may rest in Paradise and that you will protect the Indian race for ever. I invoke you to come and receive my message."

After the departure of Major Fujiwara, who had to take up another post in the Japanese Army, Colonel Iwaguro was appointed to assist the Indian Independence Movement. When he arrived at Syonan-To (By this time the island of Singapore came to be known as Syonan-To, meaning Sunny Island of the South) on May 20, 1942, Mr. Raghavan on behalf of the League and Capt. Mohan Singh on behalf of the Indian National Army, which was formed out of the Indian rank and file of the British Army who rallied under the banner of the League to wage a war of liberation, welcomed the Colonel at the Syonan Civil Aerodrome. The following day a conference of the representatives of the League and the Indian National Army was held at the Malaya Branch of the League to meet Col. Iwaguro, at which the Colonel emphasised the two-fold duties of the Indians in Malaya, namely, (1) to organise and promote the Independence Movement, and (2) to co-operate with the Nippon Administration in Malaya. He assured the gathering that his "Kikan" would do everything possible to assist the Movement, pointing out that the Japanese Government recognised the Independence League of India as the only representative political organisation for Indians in East Asia and would not allow any other sectional organisation to function as a political institution.

Col. Iwaguro entertained the representatives at a dinner at the Raffles Hotel the same evening and in a speech after the dinner dwelt at length on the attitude of Japan towards the Indian question. He reiterated the assurance given to the delegates at the Tokyo Conference that Japan had no territorial or political ambition in India, but was only anxious to see a free and independent India. She was prepared to give all such assistance and co-operation as the Indians might need to free their country from foreign domination. Referring to the centuries-old cultural link between India and Japan, the speaker said that Japan was indebted to a very great extent to India for her culture and civilization and that Japan, on her part, was now prepared to do everything necessary to assist in the liberation of four hundred million Indians.

On May 23, 1942, the representatives of the League were entertained at a luncheon party by Col. Watanabe, Chief of the Military Administration in Malaya, when a full and free discussion of various problems affecting Indians in Malaya took place. The question of the recognition of the Indian National Flag was also raised and Col. Watanabe promised to give this question his favourable consideration.

At first the Fujiwara Kikan and subsequently the Iwaguro Kikan were clearly given to understand that the League had a dual role to perform. While the League primarily concerned itself with and worked for the cause of the Indian independence, it had also to justify its existence by looking after the social and economic welfare of the Indian community in Malaya and other parts of East Asia. At the beginning the League was led to look upon the Kikan as the liaison department for solving all the local problems of the Indian community, but later on, to the great disappointment of all those concerned, the policy of the Kikan left much to be desired in this respect, so much so that the League could approach the Kikan only for assistance in connection with the Independence Movement and not for any intervention with the Administration in matters affecting local interests.

CHAPTER—VI

BANGKOK CONFERENCE

In pursuance of the decision arrived at the Tokyo Conference to hold a larger and more representative assembly, Indian delegates from various parts of East Asia assembled at the Thai capital for a nine-day conference. The Silapakorn Theatre, Bangkok, was packed to overflowing. There was no standing room anywhere and even the spacious ground itself was packed to capacity, while the roads leading to it were crowded with people who were eager to get a glimpse of the distinguished visitors. A large number of Japanese, Thai and representatives of the Axis countries were also present.

The following Indian delegates attended the conference:

From Japan: Messrs. Rash Behari Bose, A. M. Sahay, D. S. Deshpande, S. N. Sen, Rajah Sherman, V. Choklingam, J. K. Parekh, Ramsingh Rawal, B. D. Gupta, and V. S. Supanekar.

From Manchukuo: Mr. A. M. Nair.

From Hong Kong: (Civil) Messrs. D. M. Khan, P. A. Krishna, and H. M. Parwani. (Military) Major Hakim Khan, Capt. Mohd. Iqbal, Capt. Tara Singh, and Capt. Aya Singh.

From Burma: Messrs. L. B. Lathia, N. K. Bannerji, J. G. Buckle Balan, S. K. Chakravarty, T. G. Desai, C. P. Mehta, Mohamed Jaffer, Prof. E. Now, Messrs. M. Randeri, Mohamed Yakoob Khan, E. P. Pillay, Mohamed Shaffee, Latchman Singh, Ahmad S. Ginwala, Mohamed Sheriffkhan, Abdul Satar, and Sultan Mohamed.

From Borneo: Messrs. J. Lalchand, Kranal Singh, V. N. K. Pillai, K. K. Thangavelu Pillai, and Joginder Singh Greval.

From Java: Messrs. S. Haque, J. L. Gandhi, D. T. Assoomall, Yusaf Akbani, and Narain Das Chobarmal.

From Malaya: (Civil) Messrs. N. Raghavan, K. P. K. Menon, S. N. Chopra, Dr. M. K. Lukshumeyah, Janab B. Mallal, Sardar Hardit Singh, Janab Amir Khan, Dr. D. K. Majumdar, Sardar Budh Singh, Messrs. S. Shanmugam, M. K. Ramachandram, P. M. Dalal, J. A. Thivy, Kundan Lall, P. N. Pillai, Janab H. H. Abdul Kader, Dr. Jagat Singh, Messrs. S. N. K. Nagappa Chettiar, B. K. Das, K. A. Narayan, L. Xavier, Dharam Singh, Mukum Singh, Kehar Singh, Sucha Singh and S. C. Goho. (Military) Capt. Mohan Singh, (organiser, Indian National Army), Lt. Col. G. Q. Gillani, Lt. Col. A. C. Chatterji, I.M.S., Lt. Col. A. D. Loganadan. I.M.S., Lt. Col. N. S. Gill. Major Prakash Chand, Major Aziz Ahmed, Major D. S. Raju, I.M.S., Major M. S. Dhillon, Capt. B. S. Pattanayak, I.M.S., Capt. S. M. Hussain, Capt. S. A. Mallik, Capt. A. D. Jehangir, Capt. I. J. Kiani, Capt. Habib-ur-Rahaman, Capt. Burhan-ud-Din, Capt. Malik Fateh Khan, Capt. Dhian Singh, Capt. Alla Ditta, Capt. Gurmit Singh, Lt. Amar Singh, Lt. Mumtaz Khan, Lt. Babu Ram, Lt. Kishan Singh, Lt. Puran Singh, Capt. Ram Sarup, 2nd Lt. Rattan Singh, and 2nd Lt. Shiv Singh.

From Thailand: Messrs. Deb Nath Das, A. A. Rashid, Chuli Shah, L. S. Pandi, M. Sivaram, Sripat Rai, Lalita Misra, Maghar Singh, M. S. Ramsingh, Mr. Sevak T. Mehtani, Mrs. Laj S. Mehtani, Pandit Rajunath Shastri, Sardar Amar Singh, Sardar Iswar Singh, Maulvi Akbar Ali and Dr. P. R. Pillay.

From Shanghai: Messrs. Piara Singh, M. S. Doshi, B. Bobby, and Harnam Singh.

From Manila: Messrs. Daljit Singh, Mohan Singh, Atma Singh, Inder Singh, and Banta Singh.

From Indo-China: Mr. T. S. Subramanin.

In an atmosphere of great political awakening and purposefulness the Conference was opened on June 15, 1942, by the Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of Thailand, Nai Vichitr Vichitr-Vathakarn. The day's programme commenced with the singing

of the Indian National Anthem, followed by silent prayer for the martyrs of the Indian Independence Movement. Opening the Conference, Nai Vichitr Vichitr-Vathakarn addressed the gathering as follows:

Gentlemen of the Delegation, I am glad to have the honour of opening this Conference. In performing this pleasant duty, I bring to you a message from His Excellency the Prime Minister of Thailand (Field-Marshal P. Pibul Songgram), which I shall now read to you:—

"In the name of the Thai people, I have much pleasure in welcoming this Conference of Indian Delegates, which has been arranged to take place here in Bangkok. My pleasure in welcoming the conference being held in the capital of Thailand is due to two causes:

"Firstly, the aim of this conference is to rid India of the yoke of tyranny and oppression under which she has been for long suffering and to restore to India her liberty, so that India may rightly be a country for Indians. Since Thailand has been from time immemorial a land of the free, liberty is deeply rooted in the hearts of the Thai people who cherish their independence more than their very life. The Thais therefore sympathise with and support all fellow-men, whatever their race, who are striving to attain independence for their motherland. When I learnt that the aim of this Conference was to establish the independence of India, I gave it my whole-hearted support.

"Secondly, Thais and Indians are deeply bound together in cultural ties. We, Thais, received the doctrines of Buddhism and our knowledge of Arts and Sciences from India. Even the words we use in our daily speech and our writings are many of them derived from India. During the period that India had to contend with foreign aggression and fell under the domination of a race alien in language and in culture, resulting in Indian culture being deprived of support and maintenance which in time brought on a gradual decay, Thailand undertook the duty of safeguarding Indian culture.

"If you visit our National Museum, you will find that we have preserved ancient relics and objects of art of India in a better state and to a greater amount than those which are to be seen in the Indian Museum at Calcutta. Indians who have come to reside in Thailand have been received all along in a cordial spirit of friendship by the Thais. Thailand herself has taken up the study of Pali and Sanskrit, which are highly prized Indian culture, to a greater extent than any other country in the world. I therefore

may safely say that Thais and Indians are bound together in culture in the closest of ties.

"For the two reasons stated above, I am happy therefore to have the opportunity of extending my welcome to the conference for the liberation of India at this capital of Bangkok. In sending my message for the opening of this conference, I cannot refrain from expressing my respect for Swami Satyanandapuri, who was one of the prominent figures sharing in the great work of co-ordinating the cultural and spiritual relations between our two nations. I am unable to find words sufficiently appropriate to express my sorrow and sense of loss at his death. I am convinced that his pure soul will come and be present amongst you at this conference and will help the conference to achieve success in a satisfactory manner.

"Gentlemen, now is an auspicious occasion in which all the Asiatic peoples may collaborate as one in the task of doing away with all the hardships we have suffered from the oppressive rule of alien races. Japan has taken the lead for the liberation of Asia. It is therefore an opportunity for all the Asiatic peoples to unite their strength and hearts with Japan for the accomplishment of this important task. As India is the mother country of Religion, Culture, Arts, and Sciences, as she has been the world's teacher from olden times, the light of India's soul has therefore never been extinguished, but will henceforth shine gloriously brighter, fanned by the unity, endeavour and perseverance of all of us.

"I therefore pray the protecting grace of the Triple Gems and all the sacred powers of the Indian delegates assembled here, so that you all be endowed with good health, united in spirit and strong in wisdom in order to carry out the work of this conference to the desired successful conclusion for the freedom and happiness of India and of all the Asiatic peoples."

In addition to this message from His Excellency the Prime Minister which I have just read to you, I wish to add an expression of my own sincere hope for the smooth progress of this Conference and its final conclusion with the desired success. The auspicious moment has arrived. I have much pleasure, Gentlemen, in declaring the Conference open.

The message of the Thai Premier was translated into English by a lady announcer of the Thai Broadcasting Station and into Hindustani by Mr. Narulla of the Bangkok League Committee.

Welcoming the delegates, Mr. Deb Nath Das, Chairman of the Reception Committee, stated:

"It is a great honour for me to welcome you all to-day. While doing so on behalf of the Indian Independence Conference and your thousand comrades of Thailand, I wish to convey at the outset my

heartfelt thanks to the peoples of Thailand and Japan who made it possible for all of us to meet and embrace each other, especially at this time when we need most. Words are poor carrier of the feelings of inner heart, but that being the only means to express on such occasions, I thank the authorities of Thailand and Japan for all the manifestation of their sincere feelings in helping us serve the cause we stand for.

"While embracing you, however, my mind goes to him—the one who, blessed with all the great heritage of Bharatavarsha, carried the message of her cultural supremacy into this land of the Yellow Robe. The confluence of his head and heart became the meeting place of the giver and the given. Swami Satyananda Puri has lived with us, the one who is living in us, the one who has not cast the shadow of separation even on departure, the one who has gone farther only to come nearer, is no more with us! We feel lonely to-day and welcome you in his name—the name that spells truth and love.

"We are deprived also of the services of our respected compatriots, Giani Pritam Singh, Captain Akram Khan and Nilkhantha Ayer. To-day when we are assembled, let us give homage to those martyrs who have left us only to leave behind a great legacy of love for freedom.

"Friends, the land of our birth, Hindusthan, is passing through a most crucial period in her history. The history of struggles for freedom that was confined in the prison walls has now spread all over and India's struggle for existence has now become the world's struggle. India, who was for century and a half lulled into a dosing whale of humanity by an arrogant imperialism, born of greed and robbery, has now become a mother of a conscious mass. India's fateful hour has now struck as Deshbandhu Subhas Chandra Bose has told and every Indian must now make his decision—a decision that no Power on earth can undo. The immense sacrifices that our compatriots at home have made for the last seventy years since India's first struggle for freedom in 1857 to lift India from the dark cell of degeneration, are now in the hearts of our hearts. We bow our heads down to those—the torch-bearers of freedom, who created for us a field on which all of us stand and see light amidst surrounding darkness. When the rest of the world was still living in awe of the roaring British Lion, the unarmed youths of India were shedding their blood and thus proving that, though India lost everything, she has not lost her soul. This is India's spirit, the spirit that knows no fear, the spirit that steel cannot subdue, neither can fire subjugate. To-day already a gigantic struggle for national emancipation is on in India. India, the

fountainhead of all struggles of India's liberty and life, is definitely to-day at the parting of ways with Britain and those reactionary non-entities allied with it.

"Friends, the awakening of India has a special significance to the world and a particular hope to humanity, since India is a country with a mission, a nation with a power to contribute to the cause of human welfare. In the conception of her nationalism when civilisation found its cradle on this quaint land, she has been led by one spirit—the spirit of contributing to the welfare of humanity.

"It was this spirit, as Swamiji observed, which moulded her national life and brought perfection to her individual self. It was this spirit that in the days of our death-like slumber kept aglow, even in the darkest days of her life, the light of culture and civilisation, the glimmer of hope that one day she might stand erect before the world and raise with her unshaking hands the torch of truth and love she had lighted with the flame of her life. It is because of this spirit that the hands that were stretched to choke her to death succeeded only in rousing her to self-consciousness.

"All Indian national organisations therefore to be living organism represent such creation, wide and integral, embracing in fact the whole scheme and scope of national life. The central principle of all our national struggles is physical transformation and to evolve collective body or entity—a nation within a nation, with a definite culture, education, religion and society, founded on that inner realisation, through a process of individual and collective purification so as to prepare a field of culture in the truth of unity, yet revealing every variety of India's self-expression and up-building a political and economic foundation, whose model is no exact proto-type but the adoption of modern requirements of the ancient great principle native to the life and genius of India. An organisation to be an Indian organisation must be therefore a fountain spring of Sadhana or in other words become a spontaneous flow of the Realisation, Resignation and Service. India is intent to enjoy freedom only within the larger freedom of the world. Who lives, to quote Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, if India dies and who dies if India lives.

"To-day we have to create this India. India may be a sub-continent, but with all her varieties, basically India is a single country. India may be compared with a garland. A garland is composed of so many flowers but all flowers are tied into one with a single string fastening them together. Take away one flower and it will lose its beauty. Such is India. And such are we when

we embrace one another before we march with faith in Man and God to do our duty towards our motherland. Let our services be complementary to those that are rendered by our comrades-in-arms at home. Let us die so that India lives.

"Comrades, you have come from different places. Let us take ourselves as little rivulets as if springing up from different places only to break ourselves into a river—the river that will break itself finally into the mighty ocean of India's Liberty and Life. On this most auspicious occasion let us pray with a craving heart like the Poet, 'Where the mind is without fear and the head is held high'. Let us cry out with prophetic fire like the Poet, 'The injustice you dread is far more coward than you. So shatter the shackles of this imaginary fear and rally round the Mother—Mother India.' Out of this vision of Viswakavi Rabindranath and in the creation of Mahatma Gandhi, the greatest man of the world, has risen the spirit of Modern India on whose forehead slavery has not put its mark, neither has fear cast its shadow.

"We, their children who meet to-day under the able guidance of Sree Rash Behari Bose, the pioneer of our movement for freedom in East Asia, must now make a decision,—a decision that will accelerate the creation of a Free, Happy and United India—an India which the Poet visualised and the Superman is creating. The burden is ours; we have to carry it. The success is assured once we put faith in India.

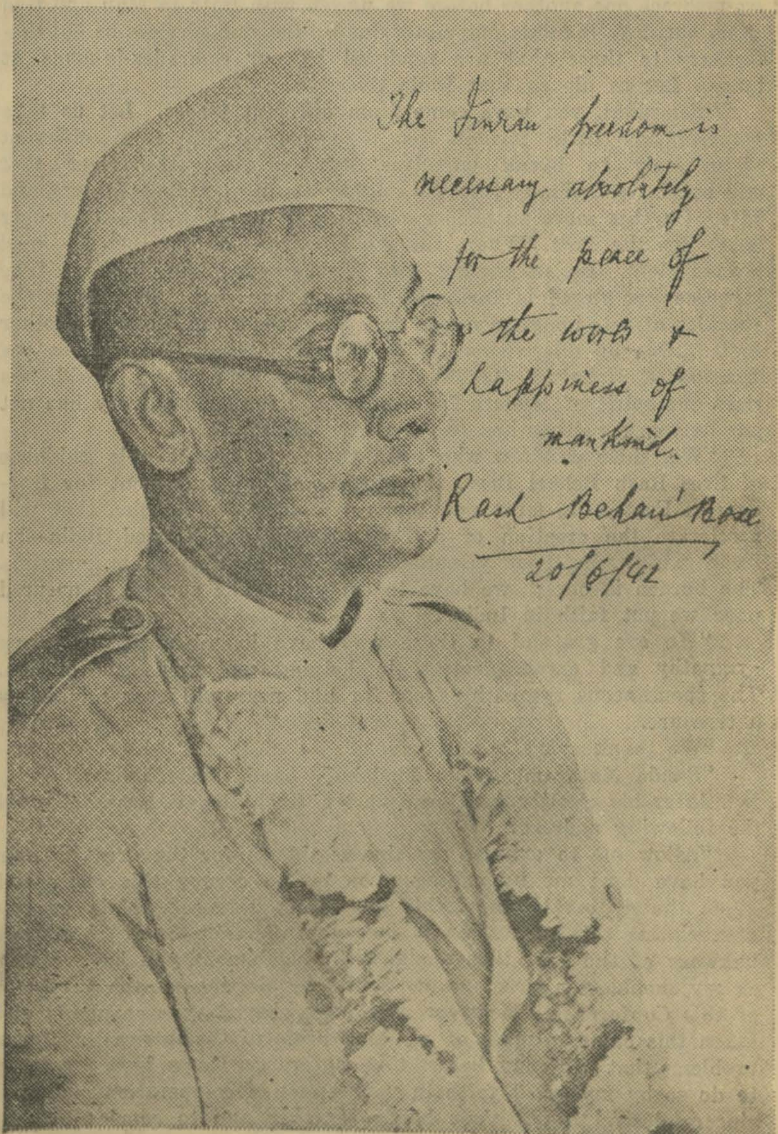
"We are grateful to those who have been showering on us sympathy and encouragement, in helping us carry this burden. The spontaneous sympathy from far and near will ever remain as a treasure.

"We thank every one of you.

"Bande Mataram, Inqlab Zindabad, Azad Hind Zindabad!"

After his election as President Mr. Rash Behari Bose delivered the following address:

"Allow me to express my sincere thanks for the great honour you have done me by calling upon me to occupy this chair and guide the deliberations of this historic conference. While greatly appreciating this expression of love and affection for me, I am not unaware of the fact that along with this honour you have placed on my shoulders a great responsibility by electing me the President of this Conference. However, if I have obeyed your command and taken this chair in spite of my knowledge of the intricacies of the problems that will come before this conference, I have been prompted to do so by my great faith in your spirit of co-operation and your sincere desire to put your heads together and to come to useful decisions without wasting much of your time on unnecessary dis-


The Indian freedom is
necessary absolutely
for the peace of
the world &
happiness of
mankind.
Rash Behari Bose
20/6/42

cussions and arguments. I am sure I can count upon your unreserved help and co-operation in successfully conducting the business of the conference.

"As I stand here, my thought goes to the unfortunate air accident, last March, that claimed the lives of our four valuable comrades—Swami Satyananda Puri and Gyani Pritam Singhiji of Bangkok, and Captain Akram and Mr. Nilakanda Iyer of Malaya, while they were flying to Tokyo to attend our Indian Independence Conference.

"We can well realise the great loss to our cause at such an important period of our struggle and we all feel it very deeply. However, brethren, let us take it as inevitable and pray for the peace of their souls. In our grim final struggle against British Imperialism, we shall have to offer great sacrifices. Many of us will have to lay down our lives before the world can see India free. It can be well said that these four comrades have given us the lead of which our compatriots in Thailand and Malaya can be well proud of.

"During and since 1857, when we first revolted against British Imperialism in India, hundreds of thousands of our most respected and beloved compatriots have laid down their lives in their efforts to free our motherland. We cannot forget the fact that they have nourished the seeds of Swaraj with their blood, and it is the result of their supreme sacrifices that we are to-day so near our goal and can hope with confidence to achieve independence in the near future. World knows only a part of the long list of those Indian victims of British Imperialism. Let us pay respects to the memory of those numberless known and unknown comrades. Placed as we are to-day, we can do very little beyond that. But the time is fast approaching when in every city and town in India we shall find a worthy monument erected in their memory and we Indians will pay homage to them and look upon them with pride.

"Our homage is also due to those respected leaders and workers as well as the organisations that have in various ways made untiring efforts since 1857 to liberate our country from bondage. Their list is in no way small and in no way their contributions were negligible. Let us pay our respects to that greatest living Indian, Mahatma Gandhi, who, with his magic wand, roused the Indian masses from the centuries-long slumber and has created self-confidence in them. We can have no doubt that when the new and true history of India will be written Mahatma Gandhi's name will have to be mentioned as the Saviour of India.

"I do not want to take your time by going into the details regarding India's struggle for freedom since 1857. Suffice it to

say that, although the failure of our revolt of 1857 was a great blow to the nation and although a general depression had overwhelmed the country, our efforts to overthrow British rule never ceased. Under the circumstances prevailing in those days, the activities had to be carried on underground and within a limited scope; and, whenever there was an opportunity, a revolt was attempted. After minor preparatory stages our first effort on a large scale was made when the war of 1914-1918 started. Our workers were active everywhere. The Indian army was prepared to join the revolt. A part of the Indian army had actually revolted rather prematurely. We thought we were going to succeed. Unfortunately we did not meet with success on that occasion. Thousands of our compatriots had to pay the highest price of patriotism. Thousands were sent to the Andamans and Mandalay and hundreds of them still remain rotting in prisons and concentration camps.

"During that wai of 1914-1918 the British have been partially successful in receiving India's co-operation by telling lies and making false promises. Our people were misled by the fine phraseologies of the shrewd British diplomats. They promised us freedom after the war, as they are doing even during the present war. But soon after the conclusion of that war it was realised that the British not only did not mean to keep their promises but definitely wanted to take away even that shadow of civil liberty that the Indians were having in pre-war days. When they protested against that, the response from the British side was in terms of bombs, bullets and machineguns. Needless to mention that the tragedy of the Jallianwala Bagh of Amritsar in April, 1919, is still fresh in the memory of every one of us and the wound has not yet healed. It really cannot be healed until and unless we have completely destroyed the power that was responsible for that great humiliation of our people.

"Every tragedy, however, has a lesson and so had the tragedy of Jallianwala Bagh The blood of more than thousand of those innocent martyrs, that included even our women and children, could not go without significant results. The great upheaval that swept India from one corner to the other, and the great movement of Non-Co-operation and Civil Disobedience that has been carried on by the Indian National Congress since 1919 and that has wonderfully organised the masses of India for political struggle, were undoubtedly the direct result of the massacres at Jallianwala Bagh.

"We all must bow our heads in reverence and be grateful t[o] those brothers and sisters who by giving their lives at Jallianwal[a] Bagh have created a new life in India. As we know to-da[y]

millions and millions in India are prepared and determined to suffer and sacrifice their all for the cause of their motherland. When in 1939 the war in Europe started, Britain once again began to indulge in jugglery of words in order to secure Indian co-operation and help. But to the great delight of us all, to this very day the nationalist leaders in India have refused to be misled and have continued to resist all British efforts to drag India into war. Our respect goes to Mahatma Gandhi for the most admirable way he has led the nation clear of all dangers of being entangled in this war.

"With this background in India, the Greater East Asia War was declared on the 8th December, 1941. No matter in which part of the world he or she might be living, whatever might be his or her attitude towards Japan, I refuse to believe that there was a true Indian patriot who was not extremely delighted and gratified in his heart of hearts when the great news of the declaration of War by Japan against the Anglo-American races reached his or her ears. I refuse to believe there is any true Indian patriot, whatever be his or her career or conviction, who might not have rejoiced, as from day to day, the mighty Imperial forces of Japan on land and sea and in the air went on administering crushing blows against their imperialism in Asia, and the British Imperialist bases in these parts began to totter one after the other like houses of cards. For is there a man whose eyes cannot withhold joyous tears when he sees before his eyes the power of the greatest enemy of humanity and peace, the greatest aggressor of centuries, being destroyed? Those of us who were destined to live and work in Japan had particular reasons to be overjoyed at this most welcoming happenings.

"We have been working in Japan for decades so that we can see Japan in a position to stand by the oppressed Asiatics and to liberate Asia. We were anxiously awaiting the day when Japan would fully realise the great significance of creating a free and united Asia and would feel convinced that it was in the interests of Japan herself, as also for the rest of Asia if not for the world as a whole, that the octopus grip of the Anglo-Saxon Imperialism in the East must be destroyed root and branch. We all were fully convinced that Japan alone was in the position to take the honour. Thus, when on the morning of the most auspicious day, the day of the Enlightenment of Lord Buddha, we heard the most auspicious news of Japan's declaration of war against our common enemy, we felt that our mission in Japan was fulfilled. We felt convinced that India's freedom was assured. Being in Japan for decades, I knew well that Japan is not in the habit of talking and

debating unnecessary and meaningless things. I knew well that she was not in the habit of taking any serious step unless she had fully weighed her strength and was convinced of her success. I therefore did not share the views of those who thought that, due to her continued military activities in China, she was too exhausted to challenge the mighty Anglo-Saxon, or the so called A B C D combined forces. I was one of those who had not the slightest doubt that the war in China was a prelude to the real war against Powers who were actually responsible for the continued fratricidal conflict between China and Japan. Happenings on the international chess board during the past more than ten years have been suggesting that such a worldwide conflict was inevitable. It was also apparent that the question of Indian freedom could be successfully solved only when Japan rose in arms against British Imperialism.

"Now that Japan and Thailand have taken up arms against our common foe, the joint efforts of our worthy allies ensure the doom of the British Empire and our complete victory is assured.

"These effective efforts on different fronts to destroy our common enemy bring us a reminder regarding our own duties and responsibilities in this common effort for our common cause. We must ask ourselves what we have done and what we are going to do to contribute to this great cause. Only praising Japan, Germany and Italy will not entitle us to the position for which we are craving. We must contribute our mite and must make the greatest sacrifice we can make. Then alone can we command the respect and consideration of our worthy allies and then alone we can claim a place worthy of a great nation like ours in future international assembly."

After narrating how the Independence Movement was launched in Tokyo by the Indian residents in Japan on the very day of the declaration of war by Japan on Britain and America, Mr. Bose went on:

"Friends, we all realise the gravity of the situation and also the fact that we are passing through the most important period of India's history. I don't want to waste time on long speeches. We had enough of that during the last more than five decades. We really cannot afford to waste our time on meaningless talks and arguments. Those who want to really serve the motherland cannot have much time to talk. If we go on talking without coming to any concrete decision, time will not wait for us and we shall be left only to shed tears at our past folly, and it will be too late to mend things. I know there are knotty problems that will come before you for discussions and will need your most careful considera-

tion. I know you will have to do a lot of thinking and face a lot of doubts from within before you can decide. But, if you have come with grim determination to thrash out a positive, concrete, and actually useful plan, you will be able to come to quick decisions. Let us all fully realise our responsibilities towards our land of birth and let us realise well that our down-trodden country cannot afford to lose this golden opportunity that comes only once in centuries. Our brothers and sisters have in hundreds of thousands laid down their lives and have suffered and sacrificed for more than a century so that our country may be once again free. Let us rise to the occasion and carry their efforts to success so that the souls of martyrs in Heaven may find peace and be pleased. Let us rise and act so that the great preparations that Mahatma Gandhi has made during the last more than two decades may bear fruit and our children in future may think of us with pride and respect as the members of a free nation.

"I know many of you have come with doubts and suspicions regarding the ultimate fate of our country as the result of our activities. I assure you that I can well appreciate your feelings of uncertainty and your desire for security and yet I believe they are based on false promises. Having bitterest experiences of Imperialist exploitations for centuries, we have begun to doubt even our good friends and if we insist on this attitude the world will go on and we shall be left behind to regret our indecision.

"I want to sound a note of warning here. Our enemies have always been successful in keeping us divided and creating false impressions in our minds on such occasions. On many occasions in the past we have missed opportunities to free our country by being victims of lying British propaganda. I can only hope that we shall not repeat our folly. Our doubts and suspicions are to a great extent the results of shrewd and well-thought plans of our enemies to sabotage our efforts. Those of us who have intelligence enough and who are not blind to facts and happenings can see the way clearly.

"We should feel thankful to the Governments of Japan, Germany, Thailand and Italy for their most friendly attitude they have been showing towards our cause. We must be particularly thankful to Japan for the most encouraging and hopeful definite promise of help in our sacred cause. Let us not forget the words of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru when he said:—

> Success often comes to those who dare and act; it seldom goes to cowards.

"I make an earnest appeal to you all friends to see that when you conclude your session, you have a most practical and work-

able plan of action for India's freedom so that we can start our work right after the Conference and march ahead. We are fortunate enough to have the most valuable help of our Indian Army at our disposal. They deserve our great respect for the great service they have already rendered to our cause by refusing to serve the enemies of India. But their greater service is still awaiting our decision. No one can doubt the bravery of our soldiers in a righteous fight for a righteous cause. Our sympathy goes to the families and friends of those Indian soldiers who had, erroneously believing that they have been fighting for a right cause, lost their lives in Europe and Asia. They have been misled by the same propaganda of lies by Britain that is responsible for the unfounded suspicion in the minds of so many of us. I bow my head to the bravery of our soldiers and we should have no doubt that with their wholehearted support we are going to win our final fight against British Imperialism. Let us stand shoulder to shoulder and let us march hand in hand to success. Let us remember we have one indivisible nation, India—one enemy, England—one goal, Complete Independence, **Bande-Matram.**"

Mr. Koh Ishii then read the following telegraphic messages of congratulation from the Japanese Premier Gen. Hideki Tojo and from the Foreign Minister Shigenori Togo.



The following is a congratulatory message from General Hideki Tojo, the Prime Minister of Japan, to the Bangkok Conference:

It is with the greatest of pleasure that I send you my heartiest congratulations on the occasion of the convention of the Indian Independence Conference in Thailand, our ally, on the initiative of the leaders of the 2 million Indians living in East Asia to create a new epoch in the movement for Indian independence.

Since the outbreak of the Greater East Asia War more than half a year has elapsed. During this period the British defences in Asia for the placating of India have practically been wiped out by the gallant Imperial forces and a golden opportunity to realize the long cherished aspiration of Indian independence has come.

At this juncture if the leaders of the two million Indians in East Asia in calling this conference respond to Japan's true desire for the Indians to create India for the Indians, Japan is quite prepared to give her unstinted support as it has been announced from time to time, and I might add that the Axis Powers are ready to co-operate in according their full support.

Britain, which is meeting with defeats in Asia, Europe, Africa and in all theatres of war, is facing an extremely miserable state of affairs which she brought on herself by her own misdoings. She is now demanding great sacrifices of India through her usual crafty way of threat and supplication. However, the far-sighted and able patriotic Indian leaders, wisely realizing the heavenly bestowed destiny of India, and fully cognizant of the world affairs, are determinedly resisting Britain, a fact for which I want to express my deepest respect. Though the construction of India for the Indians constitutes my most sincere desire, India still remains British territory, and military establishments, as well as military forces, are being daily strengthened. Japan is firmly determined decisively to destroy Britain and she will be compelled to take action so long as British military strength remains in India.

In order to rescue India from war disaster it is necessary that Britain should give up her ambitions in India or India herself must sever her relations with Britain on her own initiative. Fortunately, as I believe the present conference represents the general public opinion of the Indian people of the East, I pledge that Japan is fully prepared to support the independence movement.

In congratulating most earnestly upon the success of the present conference I hope sincerely that the Indian people will fully understand Japan's true intentions and, with the people both inside and outside India working in close co-operation, achieve their cherised hope of independence.

Congratulatory message from Mr. Shigenori Togo, Foreign Minister of Japan, to the Bangkok Conference:

I have the pleasure to express my sincere respects for the patriotic ardour of the Indian leaders representing the Indians in the Greater East Asia, on this occasion of the Indian Independence Conference. As is known to the Indian people, the British domination over India, from its beginning, was due to the unimaginable false and crafty policy of alienation and also at the same time to the British military strength in India.

However, the military bases in East Asia have completely been swept away and England's fate is now hanging in the balance. Under such circumstances Britain is now resorting to desperate all-out methods such as propaganda in which she is maliciously alleging that Japan, Germany or Italy has certain ambitions in India and to deceitful proposals concerning the revision of Indian administration in an attempt to win over the Indian people to enlist them in the defence of British Empire. There is no other time than the present when the Indians must be on guard against British machination.

Japan has no desire whatever toward India except to see her realize the restoration of freedom and has the firm determination to destroy Britain and America as has been announced previously by Japan. The Indian people who are now faced with the golden opportunity should discard trifles and devote themselves to greater moral principle. They should endeavour internally to unify the general public opinion and externally co-operate with Japan, Germany and Italy to destroy British Imperialism to bring about the realization of the aspiration of Indians.

As the result of the conference I firmly believe that the independence movement will be put under a unified control, thus to enhance the early achievement of the independence, for which I want to express my sincere congratulations.

Mr. Anand Mohan Sahay, leader of the delegation from Japan, then made a speech in Hindustani, while Mr. N. Raghavan, President of the Malaya Branch and leader of the delegation from Malaya, spoke in English. In the course of his speech Mr. Raghavan said that India, their mother country, was in danger. She had been enslaved by the British imperialistic expansion of the 19th century and India had been fighting for her independence all the time. Mother India had produced more than 400 millions of her sons and daughters and now she was calling to them. She was calling to her sons and daughters abroad to go to her, to assist her to escape from the chains and to save her from being trodden down. There was no better opportunity than the present time when they had universal

co-operation to release India from the tyranny of British imperialism. The speaker called on all the sons and daughters of India to come to the aid of their enslaved mother, who was now in ragged and soiled clothes.

After Mr. Raghavan, Captain Mohan Singh, of the Indian National Army, spoke in Hindustani. "For nearly a century we had been fighting without arms," he said. "Let us thank the Almighty God that to-day Japan, the mighty Eastern Power, is our friend. For humanity's sake and with Mahatma Gandhi's choicest blessings let us fight for the peace and liberation of our country."

Colonel N. S. Gill then spoke in English. He stated that it was a shame that the people from three tiny islands in the west of Europe could hold and dominate an ancient and civilized nation like Indians. The domination dated back to the 19th century and ever since India had fought for her liberty and independence inch by inch sacrificing hundreds of thousands of her patriotic sons. In his boyhood he had heard the girls in a village in India sing a song which encouraged the men to fight for India's independence and freedom. That song, he said, was handed down from father to son from the day of domination of India by foreign Power. With the aid of Nippon as well as Germany and Italy India now had the golden opportunity which would never occur for centuries again for the patriotic off-springs of India to drive away the oppressors and robbers of India's wealth and free India for the Indians.

Mrs. Sibaghram, the wife of the proprietor of Karachi Store, Bangkok, made a speech in Hindustani.

The speeches of Mr. T. Tsubokami, the Japanese Ambassador in Thailand, of Dr. E. Wendler, the German Minister, and of Signor Guido Crolla, the Italian Minister in Bangkok, then followed.

"I feel it a great honour to have the opportunity to be present at this historic Indian Independence Conference that has just been opened," said Mr. Tsubokami.

"The independence of India has been the long cherished aspiration of the Indian people; its freedom has long been nourished by the three hundred fifty million Indians. As a member of the Asiatic races we Japanese have also ardently desired the realization of the hope of India for Indians.

"It is a matter of congratulation that the time has become ripe for Indian independence and its signal fire is now about to be lighted in a corner in East Asia. That this conference is being held in the capital city of Thailand, the people of which enjoy the greatest understanding of Japan, cannot be said to be coincidental. The Indian leaders who have assembled here from all parts of Asia are patriots who have endured the harsh sufferings of imprisonments, of

having been obliged to seek refuge in foreign lands and of exerting themselves through long years of hardship with unabating hope for the noble cause of seeing their country become free. Their efforts have not been in vain and at this conference the dawn of their aspiration is now about to be realized. I can see quite well how great must be their joy and satisfaction. We Japanese who, as your comrades in your struggle against the British injustice for the liberation of the peoples of East Asia, obviously cannot be disinterested in this most great and significant enterprise.

"The results achieved by the Imperial Japanese forces on land and sea and in the air for the last six months since the outbreak of Greater East Asia War have been unprecedented in the world's history of war. Hongkong, Singapore and Rangoon, supplemented by Manila and Netherland East Indies, were a series of fortifications for the preservation of the security of Britain and at the same time the bulwark to defend India.

"As India was Britain's lifeline, it was indispensable that she should have constructed these series of double and treble re-inforced impregnable lines of fortifications in Asia to defend her life line. However, these groups of fortifications have helplessly succumbed before the irresistible Japanese forces.

"Moreover, the British fleet in the Indian Ocean has been speedily annihilated and the Japanese navy is now carrying out operations in even the extreme south of Africa. The mastery of the Indian Ocean is no longer in the hands of the British navy, and thus the defence of India which Britain had built at great effort through long years has been completely vanished. India has now virtually become a defenceless 'island of seclusion.'

"Concerning the present India we see two significant factors, namely: firstly, Britain cannot any longer enlist the wealth of India for its economic and military needs; and secondly, as the yoke of Brtiain over India has been broken the chance for the independence of India has become imminent. In other words, the fall of the British Empire signifies the realization of the independence of India. Under such circumstances this Indian Independence Conference has emerged. Its purpose is identical with one of the objectives of the Greater East Asia War, which is to liberate India from Britain.

"In this connection one thing must be made clear and that is that Japan, Germany and Italy in relation to the Indian problem have had the closest understanding and co-operation from the beginning to the end. These three nations, following the conclusion of the tripartite treaty, have been and are standing arm in arm to destroy Britain, their common enemy. That the three nations, since the beginning of the war, have mutually been carrying out their tasks

in crushing the Anglo-Saxon forces amply demonstrate how completely the tripartite treaty is being carried out. If we are to assume that the independence of India means the overthrow of Britain, it is clear that the three nations have been and are working in perfect agreement. That the three nations do not have any ambition toward India also demonstrate that there will be no conflict of interests among these three nations.

"Britain and America who are no longer able to defend India are now resorting to propaganda to cause dissension among the Axis Powers, but unless the latter happen to be exceptionally stupid, there is little hope that they will fall victims to such childish propaganda. It is our intention to have made it clear for the Indian brethren that they will even be backed up by the joint strong support of Japan, Germany and Italy.

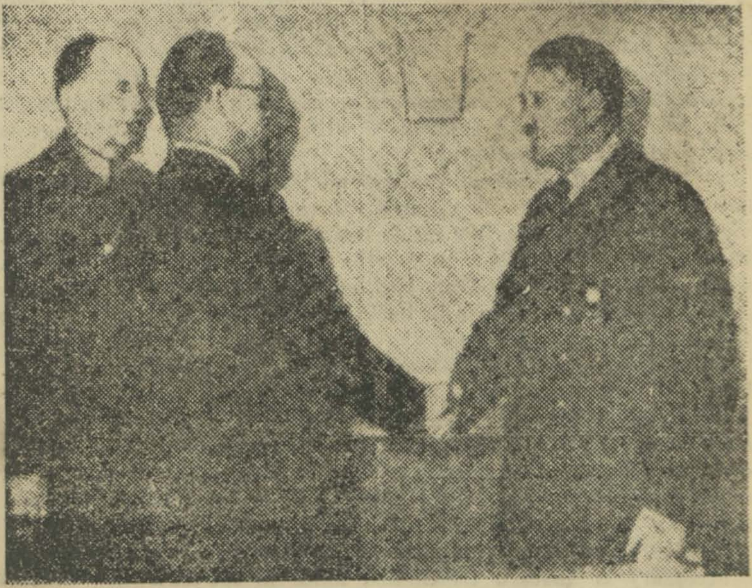
"India is now being blessed with a heaven-sent opportunity. Hence, if she should lose this opportunity she cannot hope for another such chance for independence. The eyes and ears of the whole world, including the three hundred fifty million Indians, are now focussed on the developments of this conference. As you reflect on this fact you must no doubt realize that every word you say and everything you do carries with it tremendous responsibilities. Generally speaking, in order to accomplish great things it is necessary to discard trifles and unite in the execution of the general objectives. The cause of Japan's epochal achievements rests on just this principle and on the spirit of her national unity.

"Now is not a time for argument but a time for action. India's independence can be achieved through the united action of entire Indian nation. I believe that the success or failure of the conference rests solely on your spirit of co-operation.

"Sharing in your faith I pray from the bottom of my heart for the success of the conference."

"It is especially gratifying to me as German Minister in Bangkok," stated Dr. Wendler, "to be able to accept the invitation to attend the opening session of this Conference at which prominent representatives of the Indian people will deliberate as to the means to shape and safeguard the future of India in accordance with the wishes of the Indian people.

"I need hardly emphasize that Germany too takes a lively interest in these questions as was also stressed a short time ago by the fact that the German Chancellor received at his headquarters the well-known champion of the Indian Independence idea, Subhas Chandra Bose. The world war raging to-day will spell the end of the dominion of the British and Americans who have ever subjugated and used for their own purposes the peoples in their power.



Bose-Hitler Meeting.

After leaving his home at Calcutta early in 1941 Sjt. Subhas Chandra Bose arrived in Kabul from Peshawar via Mohamand territory and stayed in a lorry-drivers' inn. He was dressed in Pathan style, wearing a beard and fez. He had a companion with him from Peshawar, who acted as his interpreter. On their arrival in Kabul a member of the Afghan Intelligence staff attempted to interrogate Bose, but his companion satisfied the policeman that he was none but a deaf and dumb Pathan. Bose, however, had to part with his wrist watch to please the policeman.

Bose somehow or other came to know of the whereabouts of Lala Uttam Chand, a radio dealer of Kabul, and contacted him. Lala Uttam Chand took Bose to his house and kept him there for 48 hours after which he left by air for Berlin via Russia.

"The nations allied to each other by the Tripartite Pact, Germany, Italy and Japan, will see to a just New Order, terminating Anglo-American tutelage over the rest of the world. Thus also the possibility arises for the Indian people, after nearly two centuries of subjugation by the British, a subjugation which has cost India so much misery and suffering, to shape the future destiny of their country according to their will.

"The German people have shown the greatest sympathy towards the people of India. The outstanding cultural achievements of India during the course of her long history dating back thousands of years, have always been the source of special interest in Germany. Germany was also the first country in Europe in which the great values in the spheres of Indian philosophy and poetry were fully appreciated. It is therefore self-evident that the German people, notwithstanding the titanic struggle in which they find themselves involved, even at the present time follow with much sympathy the significant happenings in India and, together with the peoples of Italy and Japan, show the greatest interest in the fight for freedom of the Indian people.

"The Great Powers of the Tripartite Pact are all the more in a position to raise their voices as sincere friends of the Indian people since they have no territorial interests whatsoever in India. They have but one desire: that India and her people, in free self-determination, should be heading for a better future and develop to a level corresponding with the riches of the Indian soil and the great gifts of its inhabitants.

"It is indeed a source of deep gratification for me," stated Signor Guido Crolla, the Italian Minister in Bangkok, "to attend the opening session of this Conference which, thanks to Thailand's hospitality, gathers here to-day the representatives of the various Indian Movements in the Far East. The bonds between India and Italy date far back in history. They were existing even before the Roman Empire, which was a great attempt of unifying western and eastern cultures. In the Middle Ages the daring exploits of an Italian, Marco Polo, brought the two worlds closer again, while the Republics of Venice and Genoa were intensifying their trade with India through the Mediterranean. In more recent times Indian culture found and still finds in Italy many scholars and admirers and the Italian youth is taught in school how to appreciate the contribution given by India to the history of humanity. The Italian people who have for so long hardly struggled to recover their unity and independence cannot feel but sympathy and understanding towards the suffering and aspirations of the Indian people.

"Italy's interest for the cause of Indian independence is deeply rooted in the past. Indian exiles have always found in Italy a most cordial welcome and hospitality. This particular sympathy, which is spontaneous, lively and disinterested, has recently found expression in the institution of a society in Rome called 'The Friends of India,' where the Indian patriots of undaunted faith and sincerity, such as Iqbal Schedai, are working for the cause of Indian liberty followed by the friendly and unanimous encouragement of the Italian public opinion. 'The Friends of India' wish to create as closer connections as possible between cognate associations existing in Germany, Japan and Thailand with a view to attaining the final aim through a better and greater co-ordination of their respective efforts. The enduring passion of the Indian people is approaching its decisive moment.

"The war which the Tripartite Powers are victoriously waging against India's secular oppressor is destined to create a new order in contrast with the old one ruled by Anglo-Saxon selfishness and abuse. Within the frame of such a New Order the Indian people, after having shaken the British yoke, shall, as a free Nation, find the place which their high civil and cultural traditions entitle them to. Italy, Germany and Japan have no territorial ambitions in India. Their support is therefore all the more disinterested and their friendship all the more sincere.

"The representatives of Free India gathered in Bangkok to-day are confronted with the highly responsible task of shaping the future destiny of their own country in accordance with the wishes and the interests of the Indian people. In unison with Germany and Japan, Italy is wishing this Conference the best success."

Mr. Narulla then read the following message from Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose to Mr. Debnath Das, Chairman of the Reception Committee:

"I am delighted to have your message inviting me to your conference which is going to meet under the distinguished presidentship of the revolutionary leader, Rash Behari Bose. Since it is not possible to join you in person, I must content myself with sending you this message conveying my most cordial greetings. The branches of the Azad Hinder Sangh (Friends of India Society) in Europe also associate with me in sending this message.

"After Stafford Cripps' departure from India, the last phase in our national struggle has begun. In this historic struggle all nationalists whether in India or outside must play their part. The experience I have gained during the last 18 months has convinced me that in our fight against British imperialism the Tripartite

Powers are our best friends and allies outside India and I have no doubt that they will gladly render us such assistance as we may need. But the emancipation of India must be the work primarily of Indians themselves. We who are the vanguard of the national army have the sacred mission of leading the national struggle to a successful conclusion. Though I have clear and definite views regarding postwar reconstruction in India, it is the Indian people in free India who must determine the future destiny of the country and of the Free Indian State.

"My own objective study and observation in different parts of the world for 18 months has led me to the irresistible conclusion that Britain will lose this war and that the British Empire will be completely dismembered. All the forces that are striving to destroy or weaken the British Empire are helping India's emancipation, while all forces that are endeavouring to save the British Empire are attempting to perpetuate India's slavery.

"It is a matter of profound gratification to all nationalists outside India that all nationalists inside India are united in the aim of India's independence. We, who form the vanguard of the national army, feel however that the time will soon come when it will be necessary to take up arms in the final stage of the struggle. And we also feel that since the British Empire is seeking help all over the world and is trying to flood India with foreign soldiers and foreign war material, it is the right and duty of the Indian nationalists to accept any help that may be offered them. Given the right leadership and the necessary capacity, the Indian people will undoubtedly be able to overcome all obstacles and win their freedom. When the crucial moment arrives nobody will be able to prevent my entering India again with a view to participating in the final struggle.

"I am convinced that during the course of this war India will be free. India's liberation will mean the expulsion of Anglo-American imperialism, the goal of the victorious Japanese Army. The freedom of India will also afford powerful stimulus to freedom movements all over the world.

"I am glad to find that the branches of the Azad Hinder Sangh in Europe are doing their very best to participate in the national struggle and are preparing for the post-war reconstruction that will follow. It is now time to link up Indian nationalists all over the world in one all-embracing organisation. I wish all success to your Conference and I ardently hope and trust that it will prove to be a further mile-stone in our march towards victory.

"Inquilab Zindabad! Azad Hind Zindabad!"

In moving a vote of thanks at the conclusion of the open session of the Conference Colonel G. Q. Gilani stated that when he was in Thailand he did not feel strange, because the culture and architecture of the Thai people were similar to those of the Indians. He felt no doubt that Thailand and India had been friends in old days and that fact could be proved by the most hospitable attitude and sympathy shown by Thailand towards the Conference. He thanked Thailand, the Land of the Free, for allowing the Conference to be held in her capital as well as for honouring the Conference with a message from her Premier.

CHAPTER VII

FUTURE OF INDIA.

Momentous decisions on which would depend the future of India were taken at the Bangkok Conference, which concluded its sessions on June 23, 1942. This Conference endorsed the policy laid down by the Tokyo Conference that the complete independence of India free from foreign control, interference or domination shall be the object of the Movement. It decided that the organisation for carrying out the Movement should be known as the Indian Independence League and framed the constitution of the League with its sphere of operation extending over the whole of East Asia. Its policy vis-a-vis the Indian National Congress was also clearly defined.

The formation, control, status and scope of the Indian National Army were discussed at great length and important decisions bearing on these matters arrived at. The Army was placed under the direct control of the Council of Action of the League. Any military operation contemplated by the Army against the British in India should conform with the wishes of the Indian National Congress, expressed or implied.

This Conference laid down in definite and unmistakable terms what the future relationship of Free India with Japan should be and in a business-like manner wanted the Imperial Government of Japan to endorse this policy by a formal declaration.

By way of crowning their deliberations the delegates brought their efforts to a happy issue by deciding to invite Sjt. Subhas Chandra Bose, the Man of the Hour, who was then known to be living in Germany after his mysterious disappearance from his home at Calcutta early in 1941, and to offer him the leadership of the Movement in East Asia.

The resolutions passed at the Conference are as follows:

(1) Whereas it is the objective of the War of Greater East Asia to destroy British Imperialism in the East;

Whereas it gives an opportunity for India to realise the goal of complete independence;

And whereas it is the belief of this Conference that a new and re-generated Asia of Free Nations is certain to arise as a result of this said War;

This Conference expresses its sincere gratifications at the war policy of Japan and conveys to the Imperial Government its wishes for the continued successes of the Imperial Japanese Armed Forces.

(2) This Conference conveys to all the Powers fighting against British Imperialism its sincere congratulations and prays that their efforts may meet with complete success.

(3) This Conference places on record its sense of deep gratification for the most determined manner in which the nationalist leaders at home have been trying to refuse to be drawn in this War on the side of the British and their Allies and for the frank and definite demand for the withdrawal of the British from India.

In the opinion of this Conference, unless the British withdraw from India and the Allied Forces cease to make use of India as a base for war operations and war preparations, unimaginable and innumerable sufferings will be the lot of the people of India.

(4) Resolved that a movement for achieving complete and immediate independence of India be sponsored by this Conference.

(5) Object. This Conference endorses the view of the Tokyo Conference held in March, 1942, that the complete independence of India, free from any foreign control, domination or interference of whatever nature, shall be the object of this movement and is emphatically of opinion that the time has arrived to take the necessary steps for the attainment of that object.

(6) Resolved that the Indian Independence Movement sponsored by this Conference shall be guided by the principles indicated below:—

(a) That Unity, Faith and Sacrifice shall be the motto of the Indian Independence Movement.

(b) That India be considered as one and indivisible.

(c) That all activities of this Movement be on a national basis and not on sectional, communal or religious basis.

(d) That in view of the fact that the Indian National Congress is the only political organisation which can claim to represent the real interests of the people of India, and as such be acknowledged the only body representing India, this Conference is of the opinion that the programme and

plan of action of this Movement must be so guided, controlled and directed as to bring them in line with the aims and intentions of the Indian National Congress.

(e) That the framing of the future Constitution of India be done only by the representatives of the people of India.

(7) Resolved that an organisation be started for carrying on the Indian Independence Movement and it shall be known as **The Indian Independence League.**

(8) Resolved that the Indian Independence League shall immediately proceed to raise an army called the Indian National Army from among the soldiers (combatants and non-combatants) and such civilians as may hereafter be recruited for Military service in the cause of Indian Independence.

(9) Resolved that for the purpose of financing the Independence Movement the Council of Action be authorised to raise funds from Indians in East Asia.

(10) Whereas it has come to the knowledge of this Conference that Indians in the territories which are now freed from the domination of the Anglo-Saxons and their allies by the Imperial forces of Japan, own considerable movable and immovable properties in these territories;

Whereas owing to the exigencies of the War a number of Indians had to leave these territories leaving behind their properties without making arrangements for their care and management;

Whereas the Imperial Government of Japan has promised its unstinted support to the cause of Indian Independence;

Whereas an enormous amount of money is required to carry on and complete the object of the said Movement in East Asia;

Whereas an appreciable steady income is likely to be derived from the said properties in the said territories; and

Whereas in the opinion of this Conference the handing over of such properties to the Indian Independence League by the authorities concerned on the definite understanding that the said properties are to be returned to their rightful owners when claimed, will be welcome as a sign of goodwill and encouragement towards this Movement;

Now this Conference resolves that the Imperial Government of Japan may be pleased to arrange with the authorities in the territories now freed from the domination of the Anglo-Saxons and their Allies by the Imperial forces of Japan to hand over the properties owned by Indians (including those owned by Indian companies, firms or partnerships) and left behind by them owing to the exigencies of the War, to the Council of Action of this Movement, in trust for their original owners, to manage and

control the said properties and advance the income thereon for the use of this movement to be repaid as and when claimed by the said owners.

(11) This Conference, having learnt with regret that Indians residing in certain countries under the occupation of the Imperial forces of Japan are being treated as enemy aliens and suffer hardships and loss in consequence, resolves that the Imperial Government of Japan may be pleased to make a declaration to the effect (a) that Indians residing in the territories occupied by the Imperial forces of Japan shall not be considered enemy nationals so long as they do not indulge in any action injurious to this Movement or hostile to the interests of Japan and (b) that the properties both movable and immovable of those Indians who are now residing in India or elsewhere (including the properties of Indian companies, firms or partnerships) be not treated by Japan as enemy properties so long as the management or control of such properties is vested in any person or persons residing in Japan or in any of the countries occupied by or under the control or influence of the Imperial Japanese forces, and to instruct the authorities concerned in the respective territories to give effect to this policy as early as possible.

(12) That this Movement adopts the present National Flag of India and requests the Imperial Government of Japan and the Royal Government of Thailand and the Governments of all other friendly Powers to recognise the said flag in all territories under their jurisdiction.

(13) Resolved that a request be made to the Nippon Government that it may be pleased to place immediately all Indian soldiers in territories in East Asia under their control at the disposal of this Movement.

(14) Resolved that the formation, command, control and organisation of the Indian National Army be in the hands of Indians themselves.

(15) Resolved that it is the earnest desire of this Conference that the Indian National Army from its inception be accorded the powers and status of a free National Army of an Independent India on a footing of equality with the armies of Japan and other friendly Powers.

(16) Resolved that the Indian National Army shall be made use of only:—

(a) For operations against the British or other foreign Powers in India.

(b) For the purpose of securing and safeguarding Indian National Independence, and

(c) For such other purpose as may assist the achievement of the object, viz: the Independence of India.

(17) Resolved that all officers and men of the proposed Indian National Army shall be members of the Indian Independence League and shall owe allegiance to the League.

(18) Resolved that the Indian National Army shall be under the direct control of the Council of Action and that the said Army shall be organised and commanded by the General Officer Commanding, Indian National Army, in accordance with the directions of the Council of Action.

(19) Resolved that in the event of military action being taken against the British or other foreign Powers in India and for the said purpose the Council of Action may be at liberty to place the military resources available to it, under the unified command of Indian and Japanese Military Officers under the direction of the said Council of Action.

(20) Resolved that before taking any military action against the British or any other foreign Power in India the Council of Action will assure itself that such action is in conformity with the expressed or implied wishes of the Indian National Congress.

(21) Resolved that the Council of Action shall make all efforts to create an atmosphere in India which would lead to a revolution in the Indian Army there and among the Indian people and that before taking military action the Council of Action shall assure itself that such an atmosphere exists in India.

(22) In view of the great urgency and imperative necessity of informing and convincing our countrymen in India and abroad and the friends of India all over the world of the meaning and purpose of this Movement and in view of the fact that propaganda in and outside India is one of the most effective means of waging the war for Indian Independence, this Conference resolves to take immediate steps to carry on active and vigorous propaganda by broadcasts, leaflets, lectures and by such other means as may be found possible and practicable from time to time.

(23) That all foreign assistance of whatever nature shall be only to the extent and of the type asked for by the Council of Action.

(24) This Conference places on record its grateful appreciation of the support and encouragement given to this Movement by the Imperial Government of Japan and resolves that the Council of Action be authorised to approach if and when necessary the said Government with a request to render such monetary help as may be required from time to time for the successful carrying out of the object of this Movement on the distinct understanding that such

monetary help is to be treated as a loan repayable to the Imperial Government of Japan by the National Government of India.

(25) Resolved that the Imperial Government of Japan be requested to be good enough to provide all facilities for propaganda, travel, transport and communications within the area under the control of the Imperial Government of Japan in the manner and to the extent requested by the Council of Action and also all facilities to come into contact with the national leaders, workers and organisations in India.

(26) Resolved that the Imperial Government of Japan be requested to be good enough to arrange with the local authorities concerned that in matters of administration affecting the Indian community, the Indian Independence League in the respective places, and in places where there are no Branches of the League, recognised leaders of the community approved by the League Branch nearest to such places be consulted.

(27) Resolved that the Government of Thailand be requested to be good enough to consult the Indian Independence League (formerly known as the Indian National Council and the Independence League of India) in matters of administration affecting the Indian community in Thailand.

(28) This Conference, while recording its grateful appreciation of the various pronouncements made by General Tojo, the Premier of Japan, expressing the preparedness of the Nipponese Government to give its unstinted support to the cause of Indian Independence, reiterates the resolution of the Tokyo Conference that in further clarification of the attitude of Japan towards India, the Imperial Government of Japan be good enough to make a formal declaration to the effect:—

(a) That immediately on the severance of India from the British Empire, the Imperial Government of Japan shall respect the territorial integrity and recognise the full sovereignty of India free of any foreign influence, control or interference of a political, military or economic nature.

(b) That the Imperial Government of Japan will exercise its influence with other Powers and induce them to recognise the national independence and absolute sovereignty of India.

(c) That the framing of the future Constitution of India will be left entirely to the representatives of the people of India without interference from any foreign authority.

(29) Resolved that this Conference is committed to a definite policy of the closest co-operation with Japan and it shall on eliciting

an official definition satisfactory to this Movement of the term "Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere" and its implications endeavour to persuade Independent India:—

(a) To be a member of such Sphere or a member of any other international combine of which Japan is a member, on a footing of equality with Japan; and

(b) To confer on Japan the most favoured nation treatment on a reciprocal basis.

(30) This Conference requests Sjt. Subhas Chandra Bose to be kind enough to come to East Asia and appeals to the Imperial Government of Japan to use its good offices to obtain the necessary permission and conveniences from the Government of Germany to enable Sjt. Subhas Chandra Bose to reach East Asia safe.

(31) This Conference places on record its deepest appreciation of and grateful thanks for the co-operation, assistance, and support extended to this Movement and its objective by the Imperial Government of Japan.

(32) This Conference gratefully acknowledges the sincere and friendly attitude the Governments and the peoples of Germany and Italy have adopted towards our struggle for freedom and places on record its deep appreciation and thanks for the offer of assistance and co-operation extended by them to this Movement.

(33) This Conference places on record its grateful thanks to the Government and people of Thailand for the opportunity given to hold this Conference at Bangkok, for their kind hospitality, and for their sympathy and co-operation in India's struggle for freedom.

The following constitution of the Indian Independence **League** was adopted at the Conference:

(i) The Indian Independence League shall consist of:

(a) A Council of Action,
(b) A Committee of Representatives,
(c) Territorial Committees, and
(d) Local Branches.

Local Branches.

(ii) a. Local Branches of the Indian Independence League may be formed only at a public meeting of Indians in any locality who shall elect a Committee and a President.

b. Vacancy on such Committee or in the Office of the President may be filled up by the Committee.

c. All Indians above the age of 18 shall be entitled to be members of such Branch on compliance with rules of such Branch.

d. No such Branch shall be recognised as a Branch unless the Territorial Committee as constituted hereinafter

accords, and continues to accord, to such Branch due recognition; provided however that all Branches of the Indian Independence League now in existence and recognised in the various Territories mentioned in article (vi) hereof shall, until otherwise decided upon, be recognised by this Movement (Indian Independence Movement).

Territorial Committees.

(iii) Representatives elected by the Committees of Local Branches in each Territory shall form a Territorial Committee and the Territorial Committee shall make such rules as it may consider necessary for the effective working of the Movement within the Territory.

(iv) The Territorial Committee in each Territory shall guide, supervise and control the work of the Movement within its Territory and shall also elect representatives as constituted hereinafter.

(v) Territorial Committees and Committees of Local Branches under them shall have power to make rules not inconsistent with the rules made by the Committee of Representatives, or in case of Local Branches by the Territorial Committees.

Committee of Representatives.

(vi) a. A Committee of Representatives shall be constituted by civilian representatives elected by the Territorial Committees in the Territories hereinbelow set out and by representatives selected by the Indian National Army:—

Japan and Manchukuo	4
Philippines	2
Thailand	6
Malaya	14
Burma	21
Borneo and Celebes	1
Hong Kong, Canton and Macao	2
Other parts of China including Shanghai ...	2
Indo-China	1
Java	2
Sumatra	1
Andamans	1
	57
Indian National Army	33
	90

b. The Council of Action shall be at liberty to include in the above list of Territories any other Territory, and fix the number of representatives from such Territory to the Committee of Representatives, providing in that event for increase in the representatives from the Indian National Army equal to two-thirds of the number fixed for such Territory.

Oath of Secrecy.

(vii) Every member of the Committee of Representatives shall sign the Oath of Secrecy in the prescribed form before he takes the seat on the Committee.

Policy and Programme.

(viii) The Committee of Representatives shall be responsible for the general policy and programme of the Indian Independence Movement and its decision shall in every case be final and binding on each and every member of this Movement.

Alteration of Decisions.

(ix) The Committee of Representatives shall have power to alter, amend or rescind any previous decision made by it, including any decision arrived at in this Conference.

Quorum.

(x) No meeting of the Committee of Representatives shall be valid unless two-thirds in number of the Members of the Committee are present (either in person or by proxy).

Council of Action.

(xi) A Council of Action consisting of a President and four (4) members, of whom at least one half shall be from Indian National Army in East Asia shall be appointed by the Delegates to this Conference.

The first President shall be Sjt. Rash Behari Bose and the four members shall be:—

1. Sri N. Raghavan
2. Capt. Mohan Singh
3. Sri K. P. K. Menon
4. Col. G. Q. Gilani.

Vacancies.

(xii) Any vacancy in the Council of Action caused by death, resignation or otherwise of Members not exceeding two in number at a time may be filled up by the other Members of the Council and in the event of more than two such vacancies the Council of Action shall call a meeting of the Committee of Representatives to fill such vacancies.

Duties and Powers.

(xiii) The Council of Action shall be responsible for the carrying out of the policy and programme of work laid down by this Conference and as may hereafter be laid down by the Committee of Representatives and shall deal with all new matters that may arise from time to time and which may not be provided for by the Committee itself.

(xiv) For the proper and efficient carrying out of the work, the Council of Action shall have power to create as many Departments as are necessary and to appoint and dismiss administrative officers and staff whenever necessary.

(xv) The Council of Action shall have no power to alter or amend the policy laid down by this Conference without the sanction of the Committee of Representatives.

Meeting of Committee of Representatives.

(xvi) The Council of Action may at any time summon a meeting of the Committee of Representatives to be held at such places as the Council may decide provided that necessary facilities for travel to Representatives and at least 14 days' notice of such meeting have been given to the Secretaries of the Territorial Committees and to the Headquarters of the Indian National Army. On a requisition by 20 members (Representatives) hailing from more than one Territory such a meeting shall be called by the Council of Action and the necessary notices and facilities for travel shall be given.

Control.

(xvii) The Council of Action shall have general superintendence and control over all Branches of the Indian Independence League in all territories mentioned in article (vi) and over the Indian National Army.

Register of Organisations.

(xviii) The Council of Action shall cause to be kept a register of all the Territorial and local organisations and may remove therefrom the names of any such organisations and withhold or withdraw recognition of any such organisations.

Collective Responsibility.

(xix) The Council of Action shall have collective responsibility.

Portfolios.

(xx) The allotment of Portfolios shall be amongst the Members of the Council of Action and at the discretion of the President.

Headquarters.

(xxi) The Headquarters of the Movement shall be at Bangkok or such other place as may hereafter be decided upon by the Committee of Representatives or the Council of Action.

Privilege.

(xxii) The deliberations of the Committee of Representatives and the Council of Action shall be privileged and no action of a disciplinary character can be taken against any Member in consequence thereof by any Branch or Territorial Committee or by the Indian National Army.

Alteration of Constitution.

(xxiii) Changes in the Constitution of the Indian Independence League may be made only by a vote to that effect by three-fourths of the Members of the Committee of Representatives.

CHAPTER VIII

AN EYE-OPENING EPISODE

In this chapter is related at some length a conversation which took place on Oct. 12, 1942, at the office of the Rangoon Branch of the Iwakuro Kikan between Lt. Col. Kitabe and Capt. Tsuchi Mochi of the Kikan and Mr. Yutani of the Political Department of the Japanese Military Administration in Burma on one side and Mr. Parshad and Mr. Deshpande of the Burma Branch of the Indian Independence League on the other side on the subject of the management of the ownerless Indian properties in Burma. This discussion was an eye-opener to the League officials in that it revealed what little regard there was for the League on the part of the Japanese authorities.

A scheme for the management of the ownerless Indian properties in Burma was handed over by the Political Department to the local League officials for their acceptance and compliance. But the latter thought that the scheme needed certain amendments if the prestige of the League should not suffer in consequence. They called at the office of the Iwakuro Kikan on Oct. 10 and explained to Capt. Tsuchi Mochi why the original scheme could not be accepted by them. The Captain thereupon informed the visitors that the scheme had already been signed by the Japanese Commander-in-Chief and that any amendment was therefore out of the question. However, he wanted them to submit their amendments so as to enable him to see how far he could make the English rendering

(original being in Japanese) better worded. On October 12 Mr Parshad and Mr. Deshpande called at the office of the Kikan again with their minimum amendments, and the following discussion on the subject ensued:

Lt. Col. Kitabe: Since I have other work to attend to I will not be here and hence I shall tell you whatever I have to say in this matter before I go. In the first place I wish to clear your misunderstanding on two points. The first point is that you always seem to refer to the Bangkok resolutions. It was all right for the Bangkok Conference to pass those resolutions, but you will be mistaken to think that those resolutions are binding on the Japanese Government. The Japanese Government never announced that they have accepted all the resolutions passed at Bangkok by the Indian Independence Conference. What the Japanese Government have up to now said about the resolutions amounts to that they would help the Indian Independence Movement to the best of their capacity. Moreover, the Japanese Government have never accepted the Council of the Indian Independence League as a Government body with whom they could enter into any treaty or pact. Therefore, what I would like to say is, that, although you may look up to the Council of Action for orders or instructions, it is not necessary for us, who represent the Japanese Government, to always respect those orders and instructions which the Council of Action may issue for you.

Incidentally, Col. Kitabe also mentioned, while talking about the Council of Action: "The Council of Action being a body without any territory to rule over and without any financial status, it cannot be looked upon as a Government but it is only an organisation having come into existence to fight for India's Independence and deriving its power from the Japanese Government. Any decision of the Council of Action, in order to be worked upon, must be such as to be found acceptable to the Japanese Government."

He added, "It is ridiculous for the Council of Action to make any decision without trying to ascertain whether it is acceptable to the Japanese Government or not". He urged them not to lose sight of this "important" point while seeking help from the Japanese.

Mr. Deshpande: Even if we accept the argument advanced by you in principle, it is yet essential for the Japanese side to adopt ways and means which would save the prestige of the Indian Independence League. Already there is an under-ground propaganda to the effect that the League is for them to invade India. In view of this fact, is it not of utmost importance for the Japanese not to take any step which would only strengthen the public misgivings and misapprehensions? Likewise is it also not of great importance for the Indians

to act in every way so as to be able to keep their head erect before the Indian public and to behave with self-respect before the Japanese?

Col. Kitabe: Since the Indian Independence League and its activities are solely dependent on the help and assistance given by the Japanese Government, why not the public be told straightaway that the Indian Independence League works under the leadership of the Japanese Government. In my opinion it would be better to do so in order to avoid a lot of misunderstandings in future. Whatever resolutions passed at Bangkok have been accepted by the Japanese Government are left to the discretion, so far as their interpretation is concerned, of the Commanders-in-Chief of different occupied territories, and as such we should always bear in mind that the way of application of the resolutions in one territory may not be the same in another. He emphasized that they should never bring any complaints to him that a certain Bangkok resolution had been interpreted and given effect to in different way here (Burma).

In continuation of the subject it was pointed out to them that in the Japanese system of working the Commander-in-Chief of each occupied territory is to act solely on his own responsibility. Each Commander-in-Chief receives only cryptic instructions embodying main lines of policy, and he is left to act upon them using his own discretion as to the details. (This point was also told to them previously on the 10th by Captain Tsuchimochi).

At this point Col. Kitabe went away.

Mr. Yutani wanted to discuss the amendments to the scheme of the management of Indian ownerless property suggested by them.

Mr. Yutani: Indians here are labouring under the wrong impression that the ownerless Indian properties belong to Indians. Absentee Indian property according to the International Law is enemy property and belongs to the Japanese Government, and the Japanese Government have never intended to make a secret of this fact. What properties do you have here? You are all paupers. It is the generosity of the Japanese, which you must acknowledge and appreciate, that entrusts you with the management of the absentee Indian property. But mind that you can only manage it under the control and discretion of the Commander-in-Chief, who is the sole owner of the properties. In assuming ownership of such properties, you must understand that the Commander-in-Chief has not acted high-handedly. He has only followed the injunctions laid down by the International Law. It is you who, in trying to quote the letter of Bangkok resolutions, presume that the absentee Indian property belongs to the Indians and not to the Commander-in-Chief. You must understand that this position

adopted by you is weak and untenable and the quicker you give it up the better for all concerned.

Mr. Parshad: We have nothing to say about the ownership of the absentee Indian property according to the International Law; neither we are ungrateful to the Japanese Government for their generosity in helping our movement and handing over the management of the ownerless properties to us, but we always expect the Japanese Government to help us to keep the prestige of the Indian Independence League in the eyes of the Indian public, because the management of Indian properties is our secondary work, our main activity being Indian independence.

Mr. Yutani: Prestige—What prestige? Notion of prestige is a false notion. The prestige of Indians becomes secondary to the execution of the order of the Commander-in-Chief. Any one living in Burma must obey the order of the Commander-in-Chief for the duration of the war. The Indian Independence League also cannot be exempted. The Indian Independence League should not think that it is an independent body—that it has already achieved independence. Do not be swollen-headed.

Mr. Parshad: We only want you to treat the Indian Independence League better than a mere servant executing the orders of and working under the Japanese Government. We agree that the Commander-in-Chief is the sole man in charge of Burma and every one has to obey his orders.

Mr. Yutani: Certainly you are servants. The Commander-in-Chief can command anyone in Burma to do the work, and any insubordination can be treated as treason. Why should you be ashamed to work as a servant? If the Commander-in-Chief is showing any leniency to you, you should not mistake the same for indulgence. You must realise and appreciate why Japanese Government have offered to help the cause of Indian independence. Try to be grateful for that, instead of indulging in finding faults about this order and that instruction issued by the Commander-in-Chief.

Mr. Parshad. We think that the Indian Independence League has to carry on the movement for India's independence with the help of the Japanese Government, but it is not to act or behave like a puppet to the orders and instructions that may be given to it in connection with Independence Movement. We think the Japanese Government itself would not like the Indian Independence League to be relegated to such a position.

Mr. Yutani: We do not want you to be puppets. But if we do, what is the harm in being puppets? Why is puppet bad?

Mr. Deshpande: Why do you think a puppet is good?

Mr. Yutani: (To Captain Tsuchimochi in Japanese). You cannot argue with these people, because the Indian way of arguing amounts to indulging in useless feats of hair-splitting. Until these people drop this habit, there cannot be perfect understanding between them and us. In my opinion, they must be plainly told that the Commander-in-Chief has every right to direct, guide and control the activities of the Indian Independence League.

Capt. Tsuchimochi: I agree with you on this point in so far as the Indian Association is concerned, but, although the League activities may be watched by the Commander-in-Chief, yet they will not be guided and controlled by him.

Mr. Deshpande: As it is, the management of the Indian ownerless property leaves the League no time for the Independence Movement activities and to undertake to manage it under the scheme presented to us by you makes the task all the more less thankless. We would feel very much relieved to wash our hands off this business and let others be appointed by you to do the work. On our part we would gladly co-operate and assist them as far as we can, but we are convinced that it is not worth while to accept the work in the name of the League under the present scheme.

Captain Tsuchimochi: Why is it not worth while for the League to manage it?

Mr. Deshpande: As it is, our predecessors, that is, the Rangoon League, has been and is being made the butt of the public blame. The reasons are that they had undertaken a task, for the successful execution of which they had neither the power nor the authority needed. The result was mismanagement for which the public, not knowing where the real fault lay, began to hold the League responsible.

Captain Tsuchimochi: The authority and power were duly delegated to the League and, if there was mismanagement, the League was rightly held responsible for it by the public.

Mr. Parshad: As agreed upon by you, the League had posted its labels on ownerless properties, buildings, godowns, etc. Any ordinary Japanese soldier would come and tear off the label, break open the godowns and carry away whatever he likes, or if the soldier was a little more considerate he would simply tear the League labels and paste his own, the posters reading enemy property, or property held under control, by this or that unit or the military supply department, and so on. Cases like these are every day brought to our notice, about which we have been telling you, but the frequency of such acts only shows that from what

you speak to us, even you have no authority to put a stop to it. And now it is the talk in the town that in such cases it is no use going to the League since it is impotent. Our predecessors had a hard task coping with such public opinion, and it is precisely the same which we want to avoid. Consequently, we do not want to have anything to do with the management of the Indian ownerless properties unless we have the necessary power and authority.

Capt. Tsuchimochi: If you find the soldiers removing the League labels and pasting their own, you can remove their labels and again paste the labels of the League, since the soldiers are ordered not to tamper with the League labels which are pasted always with the sanction of the Military Administration Department.

Mr. Parshad: This is easier said than done. Cases are not wanting wherein our people were beaten, in some cases severely, by soldiers for no fault whatsoever, and supposing that a soldier sees one of our men removing their label and it enters into his head to give the man a good hiding, who is there to stop him from doing so?

Capt. Tsuchimochi: In such cases we admit there is very little to do, but the remedy I would suggest is for you to employ watchmen of the cooly class who have no sense of self-respect and who get beaten to-day and forget about it to-morrow. And in some cases we also may be able to redress the wrong done.

Mr. Yutani: You talk of power and authority, and as I have already told you, power and authority cannot be delegated to you. As a matter of fact, power and authority cannot be vested in anybody except the Commander-in-Chief.

Mr. Parshad: We realise this, and hence in our amendments we have asked co-operation and assistance of the Japanese Authorities. For instance, we want to borrow a number of soldiers from you, who would see that looting and tampering with the labels are not done.

Mr. Yutani: This we cannot do. We are already short of hands. Perhaps this may be one of the reasons why we asked you to manage the Indian ownerless property.

Mr. Parshad: You want us to do the work without any power, while your promise of assistance is inadequate, and naturally all the blame for mismanagement will be ours.

Mr. Yutani: You have to take this as it is. Originally everyone in the Military Administration Department was opposed to the idea of asking Indians to manage their ownerless properties, but it was I whose efforts have been responsible for persuading them to agree to let the Indians manage it. Then again, it was thought that only the Rangoon ownerless property should be handed

over for management to the Indians. This was thought to be a trial measure. Nobody has any confidence in the ability of the Indians for the efficient carrying out of this work, and so they argued that, if the Indians showed themselves efficient in the management of the Indian ownerless properties in Rangoon, the question of handing over to them all the Indian ownerless properties throughout Burma for management could be thought of. Here again I stood up like a rock and argued in favour of the efficiency and ability of the Indians for such kind of work, and ultimately I am glad to say that my views prevailed. Moreover, we had no idea of asking the Indian Independence League to do this work. We could have very well asked the Indian Association to do it. But there, through the good offices of the local Iwakuro Kikan, it was agreed upon to ask the League to undertake the work. And now we find that you are letting us down. There cannot be greater ingratitude than this.

Mr. Parshad: We are grateful to you for being so considerate and agreeing to the request of the Iwakuro Kikan to allow the Indian Independence League to take charge of ownerless properties of Indians in Burma. But under your scheme the Indian Independence League is relegated to the position of an agent, a servant and an employee of the Japanese Government. We only want the League to be treated in a better manner.

Mr. Yutani: Our scheme was prepared in view of the fact that we had to deal with people like Mr. Lathia, who with his subordinates proved himself very inefficient and incapable. Look how they have bungled the whole affair. Their mismanagement was another reason why we had to prepare a scheme wherein all rights of control, guidance and supervision had to be reserved for the Japanese Authorities. And now that the scheme has been signed and sealed we can only assure you that we have confidence in your capacity to manage the work, and we shall assist you in the best possible way. Drop the argumentative attitude, accept the scheme as it is, do not find flaws in the working and start the work. If you are reluctant to take it up, we will have no other way but to ask the Indian Association to do it.

Mr. Deshpande: We would feel very much relieved in that case.

Capt. Tsuchimochi: It is absolutely inadvisable to dig up old graves now and ask the ghost of the Indian Association to do it. As everybody knows, both the bodies have been formed into one, which for all practical purposes is the Indian Independence League, and it is unwise to split it into two organisations, which may only cause mischief and trouble in future.

Mr. Yutani: With this attitude of hair-splitting and narrow mentality I feel pessimistic if Indians can ever achieve independence.

Mr. Deshpande: Mr. Yutani, I think it is just the other way.

Capt. Tsuchimochi: You cannot say so, Mr. Yutani. Unless it is people like these who fight for self-respect, who else do you think can fight for independence? I admit that we are partly responsible if the Indians have begun to think in terms of already being independent. But we (Iwakuro Kikan) had no other way. We had to flatter them, cajole them and assure them it is their movement; they are to carry it out, and our help will be only to such extent as requested by them; and that we have no other interest in their movement. Only by adopting such attitude we have been able to put their doubts at naught. The concrete manifestation of this fact you now find in the formation of the Territorial Committee. From now on I feel sure both the Territorial Committee and ourselves will understand each other in the true perspective and also will know where each stands with regard to the other.

CHAPTER—IX

COUNCIL OF ACTION IN A FIX

The attitude of the Japanese Military towards the 60,000 Indian prisoners of war during the early days of the occupation of Malaya was most inhuman and intolerable. In the beginning only lime rice was supplied to then. Most of the prisoners fell ill of dysentery. They were half-starved, bare-footed, ill-clothed, and malaria-stricken. In this connection the services rendered by Sardar Budh Singh of Kuala Lumpur to minister to the wants of the Indian prisoners of war in the camps at Kuala Lumpur, Singapore and Kluang deserve special mention. He with a band of selfless and indefatigable workers collected foodstuffs, medicines, clothings, cooking utensils, blankets, mosquito-nets, beddings and books to alleviate the sufferings of the prisoners.

In the circumstances the call of their enslaved Motherland was irresistible, and 16,000 of them immediately rallied under the banner of liberation raised by Gen. Mohan Singh and formed the Indian National Army. Another 16,000 expressed their willingness to join the freedom struggle and were kept as surplus volunteers. The Japanese Military Authorities promised Gen. Mohan Singh that they would not interfere with his activities to expand the Indian National Army as and when necessary and that they were prepared

to equip that Army to the strength of 400,000. But subsequent events proved that the Japanese did not intend to keep their promise. While Gen. Mohan Singh was given to understand that all the Indian prisoners of war had been placed under his control, the news that 600 officers who had not joined the Indian National Army would be assigned special war duties under the Japanese authorities surprised him. There was doubt even about the Japanese allowing the surplus volunteers to join the I.N.A. It became clear to Gen. Mohan Singh that the Japanese did not want the I.N.A. to be expanded so that it could play a worthy part in the liberation of India and that they wanted to make use of the Army only for propaganda purposes. Finally, the Japanese Authorities demanded that 900 men from the I.N.A. should be sent to Burma, to which demand Gen. Mohan Singh did not accede. He stated that no movement of Indian troops could take place before any clarification of Japan's intentions towards India was made.

That all was not well with the inner working of the Movement after the Bangkok Conference was evident from the very critical discussions that were going on in the Council of Action during the latter part of November, 1942, and which found expression in the following memorandum submitted to Col. Iwakuro:

29th November, 1942.

The Council of Action had a series of meetings recently when it took stock of the whole situation concerning the Indian Independence Movement in East Asia and the development of the revolutionary struggle in India. The enormous increase in the number of members in the Indian Independence League, the wide network of league organizations throughout East Asia, the tremendous enthusiasm seen everywhere for the cause which we stand for, and the spirit of sacrifice manifested by all classes of Indians in East Asia, have given us immense satisfaction in the progress of the movement made possible by the help and co-operation of the Imperial Government of Japan. The rapid march of revolutionary events in India, resulting in the growing number of strikes, rebellions, sabotages and other mass actions, has further raised our hopes and leaves us in no doubt regarding the intentions and determination of our countrymen to overthrow British rule and to regain our independence at any cost. We have now reached a stage at which we feel that, before we take any further forward move, it is necessary to clear matters, to understand our position perfectly and to pursue our policy precisely, without which it is impossible for us to do any effective work for the attainment of our objective. We are unfortunately so placed that we have not

so far been able to contact with leaders in India and ascertain their views regarding our policy and our plans. This makes our responsibility all the more sacred and onerous. The time would not be distant when we shall have to deal with a Provisional National Government in India and, when that comes, we must be in a position to convince them that we have taken every possible step to maintain the safety, dignity and integrity of our country when once our goal of Independence has been reached. We have, therefore, after very careful consideration, come to the conclusion that it will be advantageous, and in the interests of our Movement, to request the Imperial Government of Japan to favour us with a reply at the earliest possible opportunity and to clarify the position on the following points:— (1) A copy of the Bangkok Resolutions has been forwarded to the Imperial Government so long ago as the 22nd July, 1942. Though we have been working on the basis that such resolutions would be accepted by the Imperial Government, we are not yet in a position to know exactly where we stand with regard to these resolutions.

We do not conceal the fact that anxious enquiries are still being made by many leading members of our community regarding these resolutions, and we find it difficult and even embarrassing to give them a satisfactory reply. It is therefore of urgent importance to us to request the Imperial Government to be good enough to inform us, formally and at the earliest possible opportunity, regarding the acceptance of the Bangkok Resolutions and if there are any resolutions to which the Imperial Government cannot give their support, we shall be glad if they would kindly define their attitude towards the same. (2) Recognition of the Council of Action as the Supreme Executive of the Indian Independence Movement in East Asia and the acceptance of its status as such is absolutely necessary in order that the Council of Action may function efficiently. (3) The Imperial Government must no doubt be aware of the propaganda that is being carried on by the British Government in India regarding the intentions of Japan. Although we have had some declarations from H.E. the Premier, Gen. Tojo, and other leading statesmen of Japan to the effect that Japan has no political or military ambitions in India, we would respectfully suggest that a full, formal and solemn declaration binding on the present and future Governments of Japan regarding the intentions of Japan to recognise and support the absolute independence and full sovereignty of India immediately on the removal of British rule in India is found essential to instil complete confidence and to place the movement on an effective and proper footing. (4) As a corollary to the acceptance of the Bangkok Resolutions it is necessary that the

formation and existence of the Indian National Army on the principles laid down in the said resolutions should be formally and publicly recognised and all facilities offered for its expansion with a view to making the army a strong and efficient one to carry out the great purpose for which it is intended. We are conscious of and profoundly grateful to the Imperial Government of Japan for the great help they are rendering Indians in connection with this movement and with further support, which we have no doubt will be forthcoming, we shall be able to attain our goal of Independence in the immediate future.

Council of Action,
Indian Independence League.

On receipt of this Memorandum Col. Iwakuro became worried and wanted the Council of Action to meet him without any delay. The following are the minutes of the joint conference of the Iwakuro Kikan and the Council of Action held at Singapore on Dec. 1, 1942, on the issues raised in the Memorandum:

There are present Col. Iwakuro, Col. Maki, Lt. Col. Kagawa, Major Ogawa, Mr. Senda, Mr. Koyama, Mr. Takaoka, Messrs: Rash Behari Bose, N. Raghavan, K. P. K. Menon, B. K. Das, General Mohan Singh and Col. Gilani. Lieut. Kunizuka acts as interpreter.

Col. Iwakuro says he has received a letter from the Council of Action. He is surprised to see this letter. Wants to know reason why the letter was sent. The matter is rather serious. That is why he wanted the Council of Action to meet him. The Council should tell him frankly why this letter was written.

Mr. Menon: The reason for sending this letter is that we do not know yet where we stand. To begin with, the whole basis of our Movement is Bangkok Conference, made possible by the support and assistance of Nippon Government. Added strength to the Conference was given by the presence of Ministers of Axis Powers. The Council of Action came into existence as a result of Bangkok Conference. During the progress of the Conference and after the Conference we were given to understand that a reply to the resolutions would be forthcoming. Some of the resolutions cannot be given effect to without knowing what is accepted, what not accepted and what accepted with modification. After the Bangkok Conference two or three informal conferences were held, at which the Council was told that a reply would be forthcoming. When people made enquiries we told them that our resolutions have been forwarded to Tokyo and that we await reply. The Council carried on for two months. Then when the Council met about two months ago, it was informed of Col. Iwakuro's letter dated 10th July, 1942,

which is nothing but an acknowledgement of receipt of the resolutions. Then the Council wrote a letter on the 5th Sept. Col. Iwakuro told the Council that the letter would create misunderstanding if sent to Tokyo. That is why the letter was withdrawn. Many things happened subsequently which considerably weakened the Council's position. We can now hardly justify the position of the Movement in the eyes of the public. I refer to certain statements made by Col. Kitabe in a conference between the Burma League representatives and the Kikan representatives: "The League has mistaken that Bangkok resolutions were accepted by the Japanese Government or the Council of Action recognised......ridiculous for the Council of Action to make decisions without finding out whether acceptable to Japanese Government......League......no prestige...... puppet......Tsuchimochi flatter, cajole......no other interest in Movement......" This discussion shows what little regard there is for the Independence Movement. Even in Malaya in some places very little is known to some Japanese officers about the Independence Movement.

The Army is Council's Army. But actually it is neither strong nor efficient, as we want it to be. It is not allowed to announce the existence of the Indian National Army publicly. Propaganda from India is vicious. It is considered necessary that to win over India the Japanese Government should declare their intentions. Premier Tojo's four or five previous declarations do not go far enough. Declaration contemplated should be binding on the present and future Governments of Japan if it is intended to win over the people in India. Naturally the Council does not set out what should be the contents of the declaration, but it should be a full, formal and binding declaration. We know that Imperial Rescripts are issued only in exceptional cases. But the case of India affects 1/5th of the people of the world. But if Imperial Rescript cannot be issued, solemn and clear pronouncement in the best manner by the Imperial Government will do. Without declaration there will be practical difficulties in carrying on the work, e.g., as to the collection of money meant for the training of volunteers. If the people ask why money is being collected, we cannot mention about the I.N.A. Indians' hatred for Britain is far more than Japanese, we being direct victims. We can win freedom with the co-operation of Nippon. But our people want Japanese to tell us frankly where we stand.

Col. Iwakuro says he understands the position. But he wishes to ask a few questions. Regarding Burma discussions, he enquires if the Council is sure that the report of Burma discussions is true,

or if the misunderstanding is due to wrong translation. He points out that in his view such a state of affairs should not exist in Burma. He says that if the Japanese Government did not recognise the Independence Movement, anybody who carries on such a work would be arrested; the same with the Council of Action. He points out that if there is anything in Bangkok resolutions that is harmful to the Japanese Government, it can prohibit the carrying out of that part of resolutions. The Bangkok Conference resolved to form the I.N.A. This cannot be done without negotiations with different departments. There must be some difficulties during the course of negotiations. As to a reply to Bangkok resolutions, he has submitted the resolutions to Tokyo for reply. He received instructions to reply in the form set out in his letter dated 10th July, 1942. Perhaps the Council desires a reply dealing with each resolution. He refers to the Japanese constitution and usage, and says that when political parties in Japan ask questions of the Government, reply is never given in the name of the Government. The League is a political body, not a Government. It is like a child in mother's womb and you cannot make arrangements with a child in mother's womb. The Imperial Government has stated that (1) Japan has no ambition in India, and (2) Japan will help Independence Movement. The resolutions of Bangkok Conference have already been put into practice. He has studied Bangkok resolutions and finds 80 per cent. or so has been given effect to in practice, but there may be some friction or difficulties.

Mr. Menon mentions that he does not know why the I.N.A. is not recognised and Col. Iwakuro says: The reason for not announcing the existence of the I.N.A. is that if announced there will be great political effects. If the I.N.A. is to be used for military purposes in India it is better to keep it secret. The military effects are more important than political effects—that is why it is being kept secret, not because the Imperial Government does not recognise it. I have discussed with Mohan Singh this question, who agreed with me. The decision is to announce the existence of the I.N.A. when military operations start. It will then have both political and military effects.

Mr. Menon has said that it is a big political movement—true, and therefore, not a matter of rules and regulations. It is not necessary to make the League strong from legal point of view. Therein lies the difference between Indian and Japanese points of view.

Declaration:— Col. Iwakuro says he appreciates the Council's viewpoint and points out that Premier Tojo has already made declarations on various occasions. The Government's view is that

further declaration is unnecessary. These declarations are binding on successive Governments, just as Prince Konoye's declarations regarding China are binding on all successive Governments. If a situation arises when a further declaration is necessary, the Government will make another declaration. He says he has tried his best to give effect to the Bangkok resolutions. If something goes wrong it may be due to him or to the Council of Action. He invites free discussions from time to time.

Collection of Money:— Col. Iwakuro says that this has close connection with Japanese Administration. Kikan should be informed beforehand so that matters can be explained to the Administration.

Prisoners of War:— Col. Iwakuro says that they are under the Japanese control, intended to be used for work. If Mohan Singh wants to pick up men for the I.N.A. from prisoners without consultation with Japanese authorities, there would be trouble. He says that sometimes he feels Indians do not discharge their responsibilities but blame the Japanese. Both sides should discharge their duties. "I am sorry for the above reasons I am not in a position to submit the letters to Tokyo Government."

Mr. Menon says that the Council has not come there to blame Col. Iwakuro. It only asks for assistance to solve difficulties. He wants Col. Iwakuro to approach these questions from the Council's viewpoint.

Col. Iwakuro says the main reason for difficulties is that negotiations have not been carried out well. As to Burma discussions both sides lost temper; the result is as has happened there. This may be also due to wrong interpretation.

Gen. Mohan Singh says that the question at issue is Bangkok resolutions. Before the Bangkok Conference started it was said that the reply would be forthcoming by June 26, 1942. Delegates were detained till that date. The leaders from all territories met Col. Iwakuro on the 26th, but they were told that the reply was delayed. The Conference was fixed for the 29th. On the 29th they were again told that the reply was delayed. He asked all the delegates to go back, telling that resolutions in principle were accepted.

Col. Iwakuro says he never said that resolutions were accepted in principle. Gen. Mohan Singh agrees that it was not said in so many words, but such an atmosphere was created. Now wherever one goes the question is asked whether the reply has come. We were never told that Government could not reply.

Col. Iwakuro says that there are two ways of accepting resolutions: (1) a formal open acceptance, and (2) recognition in practice. He points out that it is technically impossible for the

Government to enter into a treaty with the Council of Action.

Mr. Senda says that only two points have not been dealt with yet. (1) Government's declaration after the Bangkok Conference; and (2) definition of Co-Prosperity Sphere.

Mr. Raghavan says that Col. Iwakuro will remember that the last letter was withdrawn at his suggestion. But this letter has been written after a great deliberation. He would like him to submit this letter to Tokyo as showing uneasiness in the minds of the Council of Action. He says that one important point is to gain the support of Indians both in India and in East Asia. Therefore, a declaration after the Bangkok Conference having regard to Bangkok resolutions is thought essential. Not merely the Council of Action but outsiders also want to know the attitude of the Japanese Government and their reactions to Bangkok resolutions. Even before the Bangkok Conference the Japanese Government expressed sympathy and support for the Indian Independence Movement. After the Conference a forward step should have been taken.

Col. Iwakuro says that if a declaration was made after the Bangkok Conference it might appear that it was a Japanese show.

Mr. Raghavan emphasises three important reasons why a declaration after the Bangkok Conference was necessary: (1) The Bangkok Conference was given a lot of publicity. But as no declaration was made thereafter, Indians do not know the Japanese Government's attitude. (2) In some quarters amongst the Japanese there is no understanding about the Independence Movement. (3) Premier Tojo's declarations were not merely with regard to India, but referred to other countries also. If the position re India is going to be same as, for example, Burma, then we are not satisfied. He wants a more comprehensive and binding declaration.

Col. Iwakuro says if a declaration was made after the Bangkok Conference, there would have been great political significance. But now five months have elapsed. Therefore unless a declaration coincides with some great event happening in the future, it would have no political significance. He says he will ask Tokyo Government to make a declaration on such an important occasion. He tells the Council of Action of something very confidential. Before the Bangkok Conference the Japanese Government approached Germany and Italy and wanted to issue a joint declaration regarding India. The German Government replied the time was inopportune, as German armies had not advanced much into Egypt. "I admit a more comprehensive declaration should be made on a great occasion."

Mr. Senda says the Government has recognised the Independence Movement. That is why they organised Iwakuro Kikan. They also authorised the raising of an Army. Iwakuro Kikan is representative of the Government. He points out that according to Japanese way of thinking a declaration in Parliament is the most important thing and that in times like these when a treaty is a mere scrap of paper the main thing is not any document but goodwill on both sides.

Mr. Raghavan says the Council was never told that a declaration would be made. He inquires if there is a way of communicating to the Council Government's views on Bangkok resolutions through Iwakuro Kikan without recognising the Council of Action as a juristic persona. He says he is not asking for a treaty or pact. If a formula can be arranged by which this difficulty can be got over, it will be very helpful to the Council of Action.

Col. Iwakuro says that if the Japanese Government suppressed the Independence Movement, it would go underground and carry on. He points out in the Russian Revolution Lenin had no support from foreign Governments, yet he carried out the Revolution. He urges the Council to remember that this a revolutionary movement.

Mr. Koyama asks why, if the Japanese Government does not trust this Movement, is this big Iwakuro Kikan organised.

Mr. Raghavan: "That is what the people are asking us—why is this organisation (League) without recognition from Tokyo?"

Mr. Koyama: The Council of Action is not a real Government and it is only a political body. The Government therefore cannot make any formal promise to the Council. The case of Nanking (Chinese) Government is different. It has territory, people and sovereignty.

Mr. Senda says it is necessary for the Independence Movement to have the moral support of the Imperial Government—this is better than a legal contract.

Col. Iwakuro: "I have instructions to help this Movement."

Mr. Senda: "Iwakuro Kikan is a new creation to help the Movement."

Col. Iwakuro says he has received orders to help create political organisation and army to carry on this Movement. In each particular case where difficulty arises, he should be informed and he would solve the difficulties one by one.

Mr. Koyama says the Tokyo Government has received information that there are quarrels within the Indian community. There is no unity amongst Indians even in East Asia with a friendly Government helping the Movement.

Mr. Raghavan points out that if the Tokyo Government is really receiving correct information, it should know there is a good

deal of anxiety amongst Indians as to the fate of Bangkok resolutions.

Mr. Koyama says that if there is strong unity among the leading persons in the Movement, other Indians would not worry about these matters.

Mr. Menon says there is complete unity amongst Indians regarding this Movement and the people are united in asking for these assurances. The Council of Action is united on this issue. There is no use evading the main issue by talking about unity.

Mr. Koyama: "The Imperial Rescript is a sacred one. Nobody can ask for it. It must come from the Emperor himself."

Mr. Menon says the Council knows of this; that is why no mention of Imperial Rescript is in Council's letters.

Col. Iwakuro enquires whether these questions are asked because some Indians do not support this Movement or because they find that the organisation is not working properly.

Mr. Raghavan replies that questions are asked because people want the Movement to be put on a firm footing. There should be no misunderstanding between the Japanese and the Movement. Leaders' duty is to see to this.

Col. Iwakuro says that this organisation is not a puppet organisation—he does not want it to be treated as a puppet. The Japanese Government will help the Movement spiritually without asking for any returns. He says the Movement should be such as to need no assistance from Japanese side. He points out if the Japanese Government recognises the League officially before it has done any concrete work, it will be of no good to the Movement. In his opinion the Council should ask for two things: (1) Not to make it a puppet. (2) Japan should ask for nothing in return for assistance rendered to the Movement. He says that if a declaration is asked for, the Council may become a puppet.

Mr. Senda says that the Movement should be run by Indians, that is why Japanese have been very careful and have remained behind the curtain.

Mr. Koyama says that in his opinion there are three categories of Indians: (1) Those ready to sacrifice life and property for the Movement. (2) Those who find Japanese stronger than the British and so join the Movement. (3) Those who are pro-British. He enquires how many Indians are in category No. 1.

Mr. Raghavan replies that even amongst Japanese there are three categories: (1) Those who are solidly behind the Independence Movement. (2) Those who are indifferent to the Movement. (3) Those against Indian Independnce, for instance, Mr. Yutani, but he is not the only one.

Mr. Senda says that Mr. Yutani is very pro-Indian. In the course of Burma discussions he must have lost his head. There were tempers on both sides.

Mr. Koyama: There may be both Indians and Japanese whose attitude is indifferent to the Movement, but the duty of the League and Iwakuro Kikan is to convert them.

Gen. Mohan Singh: "Do I understand under present circumstances Col. Iwakuro does not think it right to forward this letter?'

Col. Iwakuro: "Yes."

Gen. Mohan Singh: "Secondly, will he do his best to help as he is doing now?"

Col. Iwakuro says "Yes," and sums up the position thus:— (1) He cannot submit the letters to Tokyo asking for a reply to Bangkok resolutions after such a long time. He has already submitted the Bangkok resolutions to Tokyo. (2) He will do his best to persuade the Japanese Government to make a declaration at the opportune moment. (3) He will help the Movement to the best of his ability. Difficulties should be reported to him as and when they arise and not allow them to accumulate and then come in a body for a stiff formal Conference.

CHAPTER—X

MOHAN SINGH v. THE JAPANESE

While the Council of Action was pressing the Iwakuro Kikan for a formal declaration by the Tokyo Government before any forward move could be undertaken by the League, the Kikan was threatening Gen. Mohan Singh that, unless the movement of a unit of the I.N.A. to Burma as orginally arranged was carried out in compliance with the demand of the Japanese Military, a serious breach in the harmonious relation then existing between the Japanese Government and the Indian Independence League would occur with grave consequences.

Gen. Mohan Singh carried on vehement discussions with Major Ogawa and Col. Iwakuro of the Iwakuro Kikan and Major Fujiwara, a former Liaison Officer, presenting a bold front to the vascillating tactics of the Japanese. During the discussion with Major Ogawa on Dec. 2, Gen. Mohan Singh was told that an advance party had already been sent without the consultation of the Council of Action.

General: That ought not to have been done. In view of yesterday's discussion the situation is very grave and the question of the move is of secondary importance. Until the major issue is not tackled, no move will take place.



Gen. Mohan Singh

Ogawa: All arrangements with harbour people and naval authorities have been made and programme already worked out, and unless this move is carried out, there would not be any sympathy from the Japanese side. No apology on this matter later on will be accepted. It shall be carried out now.

General: The move will not be carried out. It simply can't be done.

Ogawa: If you cannot see your way through the Council of Action to carry out this move, you had better resign.

General: The question of resignation does not arise at all, as I fully agree with the decision of the Council of Action. The question of resignation is my personal affair and I do not need any advice on that.

Ogawa: It is a big question. It is a question of all Japanese and all Indians. If you do not carry out this move, you will lose the confidence of the Japanese.

General: I do not wish to gain the confidence of the Japane e at the cost of losing the confidence of the Indians.

Ogawa: If you miss this opportunity, you will be losing a golden chance for gaining independence of the whole of India.

General: That is why we are serious about it. If it had been a personal matter, I would have done it. We understand this is the question of the freedom of the Indian people; that is why we have stopped all further moves till the fundamental questions are decided.

Ogawa: But we are putting all resolutions into practice and when Mahatma Gandhi is carrying out this gigantic struggle, you are worrying about a scrap of paper.

General: We know how to carry on this Movement. We were carrying on since long and if necessary we will carry on in future without your help. No words can please us. We have been betrayed and cheated many a time. We do not wish to take a step forward with you till India's interests are completely safeguarded. We have learned these lessons after bitter personal experiences.

Ogawa: We are always true to our words. You can see from Manchuria. We have given her independence.

General: This is exactly what we do not want. Who says there is any independence in Manchuria? India is already much more free than your so-called free and independent Manchuria.

Ogawa: The independence of Manchuria is slightly different. There are five different races.

General: The racial discrimination is your own creation. This is exactly what the ruling nations generally do. Racial problems in Russia are much more serious than in any other country in the world. Britain and Russia are well united and Russia is a very powerful nation. You have supported the British policy of keeping several States in Malaya. Before the British came into India, India was one State. Now two-thirds is under British rule, while one-third is divided into 560 Native States. This is how an Imperialistic Power divides, sub-divides and weakens the country, but we know India is one and will remain as one.

Ogawa: Yes, we quite agree. It should be one and we like to see it strong and united.

General: It cannot be your idea or idea of any other foreign imperialistic Power.

Ogawa: Why have you suddenly become suspicious?

General: Your sudden and straight refusal to a genuine demand re Bangkok Resolutions and moreover, by seeing your ideas of independence in Malaya and Burma.

Ogawa: You cannot compare India with Malaya and Burma. India will be more independent.

General: What do you mean by 'more'? India will be absolutely independent. No one can stop it. As a result of our constitutional fight with the British we have achieved quite a good deal of personal freedom. If you will try to relieve the British, we will continue to fight with you till we have achieved our final goal. Your object in our country is to fight the British and our object is to achieve complete independence.

Ogawa: It is your country and we are just assisting you. You take all the assistance and should not ask for any assurance.

General: Yes, it is our country and our countrymen have been so far fighting alone and they hav'nt asked for any assurances. Even now If we were to fight the British alone, we would never have asked for assurances or promises. But, as things stand, we are going to take a very big foreign army into our country, placing our own services at the disposal of that army; it is only logical that we must have a clear-out policy laid down to protect our interests and national prestige. We shall have to start a new fight with twice the fury and determination.

Ogawa: By the time the war starts the declaration will come.

General: We want to be sure of everything now. By that time it might be too late.

Ogawa: Col. Iwakuro's idea is that the Council of Action cannot work independently. It is a very passive body and the Independence League has no ability to guide this big movement. That is why the Kikan is here to help you. It will never be able to do anything. It is only the army that is capable of doing something great.

General: I disagree. We Indians are capable of conducting this Movement. This lack of assurance from your side has weakened the League and made it cautious and to be reluctant to take any plunge in the dark. The way you are crushing Malayans here and completely Japanising them has created suspicion in the minds of Indians.

Ogawa: Our intentions about India are absolutely clean and in the next session this question will get further clarification.

General: If your intentions are so noble, why don't you officially announce them? Anyhow it is difficult for the Council of Action to wait for the next session. I don't know what they will decide, but I can assure you it will be a deliberate and cautious decision.

General Mohan Singh met Col. Iwakuro afterwards on the same day and had the following discussion with him:

Gen: It is none of my business to advise the Japanese Government, but I must say that Japan will make a great blunder if she invades India before absolutely clarifying her status and position. India has been fighting the British for the last 150 years with all possible means at her disposal, and she will continue to fight Japan till she has attained her one sole objective, i.e. complete independence. India has seen many invaders, and history proves that all of them met their final end on the same side. To-day India is politically awakened and she can never be subjugated. A free, strong and friendly India will not only be a great asset to Japan but will also contribute to the peace, prosperity and deliverance of mankind.

Col: I love my country as you love yours and I quite agree with you. It is equally bad for my country to invade India with any selfish intentions. In Manchuria we have been quite true to declarations, because we declare all the five races should equally benefit by the New Order. Prince Konoye's promises are still carried out to the last word.

Gen: Before we started this movement, we knew your policy in Manchuria and China. We have seen your ways in Malaya and heard about Burma and that is the reason why we are very careful about our commitments. Our only hope was that Japan would be wise enough to adopt a different policy in different countries. We cannot tolerate these types of government in our country; so, before taking any further step, we want definite assurances.

Col: I quite agree with you. India's question is a separate one, and I am trying my best to request the Premier to issue a clear and formal declaration. Please understand the Japanese view-point; we are absolutely ready to co-operate whole-heartedly.

Gen: I will talk the whole matter out with my colleagues in the light of what you have told me just now. Till then I will not be in a position to say anything on the major issue.

* * * *

On the following day, Dec. 3, General Mohan Singh discussed the matter with Major Fujiwara, who was the first Japanese Officer attached to the Movement, and reiterated the firm and unalterable stand taken by the Council of Action.

Gen: I feel extremely sorry that such a state of affairs has arisen. You know very well how dear this Movement is to me and I have fully devoted my best energy to bring about the successful realisation of this one and only mission of my life. The present

situation has taken such a serious turn that the only honourable course left for us is to stop and see where we actually stand. The movement of the troops is a minor affair in comparison with the basic issues. That is why we have unanimously decided that no moves will take place until and unless the fundamental problems are decided once for all.

Fujiwara: It is not a minor affair. The movement of the troops may be a minor thing, but the reaction on stopping it will create suspicion and will alienate the sympathies and best wishes of the Japanese. Although I am not in direct touch with you, still I am responsible for Indian affairs in the Japanese Military Headquarters. I won't like the slightest mi understanding at this critical juncture and will personally try to explain the whole situation to the members of the Council of Action.

Gen: The Council of Action has very carefully thought over it from all angles, and I am sure that the decision stands final and irrevocable.

* * * *

Owing to the gravity of the situation a meeting of the Council of Action was held at Sea View Hotel, Singapore, on December 5, 1942. There were present Mr. Rash Behari Bose (President), Mr. N. Raghavan, Mr. K. P. K. Menon, Gen. Mohan Singh, Col. Gilani (Members) and Mr. B. K. Das (Secretary). Col. N. S. Gill attended the meeting with permission. The following are the minutes of this meeting:—

The President reports that he saw Col. Iwakuro the previous day, explained to him the position and informed him of his decision that the movement of 900 troops would not be carried out. Col. Iwakuro said that he would try his best to get satisfactory reply from Tokyo on the points raised by him. The President says his impression is that Col. Iwakuro was genuine when he expressed his views on the matter. Mr. Menon and Gen. Mohan Singh enquire if Col. Iwakuro promised to send the letter dated Nov. 29, 1942, to Tokyo and whether he was prepared to state this in writing. If not, they would have no alternative but to resign. The President answers "No" to the question and informs that, if necessary, he will deal with these questions with the higher authorities as he had already told. He discussed the question with Col. Iwakuro on general lines. Col. Iwakuro did not say he would forward the letter to Tokyo but said that he would explore all avenues to satisfy the Council of Action.

Mr. Raghavan says that if they have no faith in the Movement, it is better to scrap the Movement rather than use pin pricks against the Japanese authorities. The President had asked for

time till the end of next month and yesterday the Council had agreed. Nothing has transpired since then for members to insist upon immediate reply. The President met him (Mr. Raghavan) after his discussion with Col. Iwakuro and told him (Mr. Raghavan) that Col. Iwakuro admitted there are two outstanding questions: (1) A declaration by Japanese Government as to their intentions about India; and (2) Answers to the Bangkok resolutions. The President is willing to take up these questions with the Tokyo Government, if necessary.

Gen. Mohan Singh, Col. Gilani and Mr. Menon state that the position is just as unsatisfactory and after some discussions state that, unless the following points are considered immediately, they will resign:

1. An assurance that Col. Iwakuro will forward the letter to Tokyo.

2. An assurance that a reply will be given on or before the 1st January, 1943. The Council to meet in the last week of December, 1942, to consider the situation.

3. No major action would be taken regarding the I.N.A. Routine work of the Movement to be carried on in the mean time.

4. Practical action regarding the I.N.A. to be taken on the following points forthwith:—

(a) All surplus volunteers and prisoners of war are to be placed under the control of the General Officer Commanding, I.N.A.

(b) No major movement of personnel, of surplus volunteers and of prisoners of war either inside or outside of Malaya should take place in the mean time.

(c) All guards and detachments now working under the Japanese authorities must be under the control of the G.O.C.

(d) Advance party in Burma should be informed that no further action should be taken until further orders from the G.O.C.

The President informs the Council that he will place these matters before Col. Iwakuro and obtain his views thereon.

CHAPTER—XI

THE CRISIS.

December 8, 1942, was a bad day in the annals of the Independence Movement in East Asia. Early in the morning the Japanese Military Authorities arrested Colonel N. S. Gill at his residence, suspecting him to be a British agent. The arrest of a trusted colleague added fuel to the fire that was smouldering in the Council of Action and precipitated the resignation of all its members. While Mr. N. Raghavan resigned from the Council on the morning of Dec. 8, the other members sent in the following letter of resignation to the President of the Council in the evening, wherein they put before him the reasons for the unpleasant step they had been constrained to take:

Syonan, Dec. 8, 1942.

The President,
Council of Action,
Indian Independence League,

Sir,

We have been, as you know, during the last few weeks engaged in carefully examining every aspect of the Indian Independence Movement in East Asia, and after long deliberation we came to the conclusion that without clarification of the position on many points it would not be possible nor desirable to go on with our work.

It was with this object that we prepared a memorandum for consideration by the Imperial Government of Japan and sent same to Col. Iwakuro on 29th Nov., 1942, with a request to forward it to Tokyo and get a reply at the earliest possible opportunity. On his invitation we met him and some other Japanese gentlemen at a conference on 1st Dec., 1942, when we further placed our difficulties and our point of view before them.

After discussions lasting for over 2½ hours, in the course of which Col. Iwakuro told us that he was not prepared to forward our memorandum to Tokyo, we returned greatly disappointed and dejected and we informed him of it accordingly.

On the 5th you assured us that you would try to induce Col. Iwakuro to reconsider his decision and wanted us to wait till you were in a position to report to us the result of your attempt. To-day you were good enough to inform us that your efforts have been unsuccessful so far.

We put our whole soul in the endeavour to preserve this Movement for the purpose for which it was started, but we cannot deceive ourselves and the public by pretending that things are going

on well and smoothly when in fact we are thoroughly dissatisfied at the situation in which we find ourselves.

Therefore, we are of opinion that no useful purpose will be served by our continuing as members of the Council of Action. We hope that, in spite of the present difficulties, it will be possible for us in the near future to resume our activities under more favourable conditions. But our duty at the present is clear. We are not confident that we shall be able to serve the cause of Indian freedom in the manner and to the extent that we wanted to serve it if we go on like this.

The situation took a more serious turn this morning by the arrest of Col. N. S. Gill, who is highly admired and respected by the members of the Indian National Army. It is well-known that Col. Gill played a great and noble part not only in the creation and formation of the Indian National Army but also in popularising the Indian Independence Movement generally. At a time when his presence and assistance would have been of great use to us, he has been abruptly taken away from us, and we cannot conceal the fact that this unfortunate incident has made a deep impression in our minds, as it has no dcubt made in yours also.

It is very painful to us to cease our connection with a movement which we patiently laboured to create and develop, but we shall be proving ourselves false to the great trust imposed on us by our people if we continue our association with this movement under the circumstances in which we find ourselves to-day.

We, therefore, tender our resignation as Members of the Council of Action, and we request you to accept the same.

While we sever our connection with this movement as Members of the Council of Action, it is needless to say that we shall, in our individual capacity, always be prepared to give our whole-hearted support and co-operation to the Military Administration of Malaya.

May we take this opportunity to thank you personally for the great courtesy and consideration that you have shown to us during the period that we have been working together.

We have etc.,

Mohan Singh,

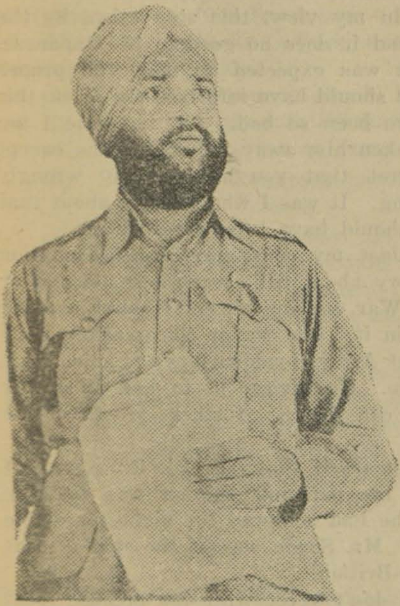
Col. Gilani,

K. P. Keshava Menon.

General Mohan Singh demanded an explanation from the Japanese authorities for the arrest of Col. Gill. Major Fujiwara started with apologies because such an incident had happened at this time and he hoped that the General had not taken it seriously. He asked the General whether he could suspect Col. Gill. The General replied "Nothing doing,—not at all". Major Fujiwara went on to explain the charges against Col. Gill. Gill had been watched right from the beginning and they were sure he had a complete network of spies (British) in and out of the I.N.A. During March he selected six trusted officers to convey to the British Government in India what was happening in the Far East. Out of the six, two had succeeded in crossing the border and the remainder were arrested and had given the Japanese the information about Col. Gill's activities. In Tokyo Major Fujiwara was warned not to trust Col. Gill by some of the Indians there to whom Col. Gill had told what he thought of the Japanese. In Saigon Col. Gill telephoned to someone that this Movement was nothing and that he was definitely pro-British. "However, Gill played so well with me," said Major Fujiwara, "that I had no suspicion whatsoever that Gill was a British espionage agent." Col. Gill requested Major Fujiwara to make him the C. in C. and said that Mohan Singh was nothing. Major Fujiwara said that he had already given his word and he would never divert, but urged him to be a useful partner.

After his return from Tokyo Col. Gill started his activities and the Japanese thought that he would be harmful to the I.N.A. They despatched him to Bangkok. Before he left Syonan he told his trusted colleague that he might not be at Bangkok and told them to carry on their mission and not to believe whatever he said in public. At Penang Col. Gill confessed to an Indian merchant that he was anti-Japanese. At Bangkok Gill tried to do as much harm as possible to the Japanese and the I.N.A. The Japanese M.P. warned Major Fujiwara re the activities of Gill, but he took no serious notice. In Burma suspicions were aroused by Col. Gill's movements and the M.P. again reported, but no serious view was taken. As soon as Gill returned to Syonan the Japanese M.P. warned Major Fujiwara to watch Col. Gill's activities. On the 18th Nov., 1942, 6 British officers landed by parachutes on Pegu and they were arrested. From investigations made after deciphering the British code the Japanese authorities had come to the conclusion that Col. Gill was a British agent. Those six parachutists confessed that they had three objects:

(1) To contact Col. Gill and Major Dhillon; (2) To spread confusion and distrust between the Japanese and the I.N.A.; and (3) To find the movements of the Japanese forces. Under these charges Col. Gill was taken for investigation.



Colonel N. S. Gill

General Mohan Singh said: What had happened was not unexpected on our side. We were ready for this show. Re Col. Gill I cannot believe, and I will not, that he is working for the British. From my close association with him and from the work he has done for me I have not the slightest doubt. This incident can be looked at by a disinterested person as follows: (a) That I have called Col. Gill from Burma and have handed him over to the Japanese for my own personal reasons; (b) That you believe that the present deadlock has been created by Col. Gill and to get rid of him you have taken him away; and (c) To separate him from me during this juncture. Under these circumstances my position becomes awkward. I have told you that not one Gill or one Mohan or one Bose but hundreds may have to be sacrificed to achieve our goal. I do not matter. It will be the greatest blot on me not to take the responsibility. I have done all these and I stand by all of my actions. May I ask a few questions re Gill?

Q. Can I meet the six parachutists that landed in Pegu?

A. Impossible. They are under the charge of the M.P.

Q. Can I meet the officers despatched by Col. Gill?

A. I think it is not possible.

Q. Can you name these officers?

A. Yes, I shall give you detailed news of them after I get them from the M.P.

Q. Can I see Col. Gill now and then?

A. As the M.P. have full powers it is not possible, but after the investigation it will be possible, I think.

Q. Can you tell me the approximate dates of the arrest of the officers and when they crossed the border?

A. During August, but I am not certain.

The General then said: "In my view, this step taken by the Japanese was entirely wrong and it does no good to the Japanese. It was a wrong move. Yet it was expected by me. The proper thing would have been that you should have informed me about this earlier and that would not have been so bad. All the same I am of the opinion that you have taken him away for no reasons except as stated before. I only regret that you are entirely wrongly informed and your move is wrong. It was I who brought about that deadlock, sincerely too, and I should have been arrested.

"I have to fight hard against my conscience and imagination to believe Major Fujiwara's story about Gill, because in 1939 after the outbreak of the European War certain officers (Sikhs) planned to capture the Punjab. I was in it. One senior officer amongst us took up the scheme to Col. Gill at Army Headquarters at Simla. Col. Gill kept that secret to this date. He advised us to wait as it was not the proper time. There can be no further proof of his sincerity towards India."

At this stage Mr. Senda remarked that, as Col. Gill's way of living was completely British, his personal opinion was that he might like the British, because he had achieved the highest possible post of an Indian in the Army. Mr. Senda was of the opinion that quite unknowingly Gill was pro-British.

Gen. Mohan Singh said: "I don't agree with you because most of the Army Officers lived like and amongst the British, yet we could never change hearts. Whatever it is, Gill is not or never was pro-British. Some of us might have liked their ways but not their rule."

Major Fujiwara then requested the General to call on Col. Iwakuro and inform him about this discussion. The General replied that he could not do this till he could make up his mind.

At the instance of the President of the Malaya Branch, Mr. Raghavan, an emergency meeting of the Presidents of the State Branches of the League was held on Dec. 8 and 9, 1942, to consider this unfortunate development in the Movement and to decide whether the Movement was to be carried on. There were present Mr. S. C. Goho (President, Syonan Branch), Dr. Mootatamby (President, Johore Branch), Mr. S. Shanmugam (President, Malacca Branch), Dr. D. K Majumdar (President, Negri Sembilan Branch), Dr. M. K. Lukshameyah (President, Selangor Branch) and Dr. N. K. Menon (President, Penang Branch). Dr. J. Samuel, President, Pahang

Branch, and Mr. J. A Thivy, President, Perak Branch, were unable to attend owing to ill-health. The President of the Kelantan Branch was not invited, as he could not attend the meeting in time owing to transport difficulties. The President of the Kedah Branch, Mr. S. N. K. Nagappa Chettiar, was held up owing to floods and arrived at Syonan on the 10th December.

After Mr. Raghavan had explained the crisis in detail, the meeting unanimously decided

(1) that the movement should be continued and that complete support be given to Sri Rash Behari Bose, President of the Council of Action, to carry on the movement;

(2) that Sri N. Raghavan should continue as the President of the Malaya Branch;

(3) that Sri Rash Behari Bose be requested to try every possible means to secure a clarification of all matters relating to the movement from the Tokyo Government by declarations, statements and otherwise at as early a date as possible; and

(4) that while the normal working of the movement is to be carried on as usual, any further forward move should be decided only after such declaration or statement.

Sri Rash Behari Bose accepted the resignations of Gen. Mohan Singh, Lt.-Col. Gilani and Mr. Keshava Menon and sent the following reply:

Camp, Sea View Hotel,
Syonan, 9th. Dec. 1942.

Dear Mohan Singh (Gilani, or Keshava Menon),

I am in receipt of your letter of resignation of yesterday's date. It was not altogether unexpected. During the last few days I noted that a crisis was being carefully developed in which the only difference of opinion between yourself and myself was on the point as to whether this Movement should be allowed to be wrecked immediately without our exploring all the avenues to preserve it honourably and in the interests of India. I believed, and still believe, that it could be so preserved. As I had already informed you a number of times, on all outstanding points at issue, I have been doing my best to negotiate and I only pleaded for some time to continue these negotiations to a definite conclusion consistent with our country's needs and self-respect. I even undertook to go to Tokyo, if need be, and try to get the position clarified to our satisfaction. But, in spite of these assurances on my part and in spite of my plea, I regretted to note, during the discussions that we have had, an atmosphere which was not conducive to joint work

and which was fatal to the Movement. In the circumstances, I accept your resignation with great regret and will carry on the Movement by myself as President in the best way I can, pending a reference to the Committee of Representatives. I hope and pray God that I shall, in my endeavours to serve our country, receive the full support of my countrymen in East Asia.

I thank you for the last paragraph of your letter. The courtesy and consideration have been mutual.

Yours in Service,
(Sd.) RASH BEHARI BOSE,
President,
Council of Action, I. I. League.

Sri Rash Behari Bose then made an impassioned appeal to the Indians in East Asia to carry on the Movement to its successful conclusion.

TO THE INDIAN PATRIOTS OF EAST ASIA.

My colleagues of the Council of Action have resigned. The constitution to that extent has broken down and, on behalf of the Indians in East Asia, I, as President, have decided to carry on, pending the election of other members which can be done, according to our Constitution, only by the members of the Committee of Representatives from the various territories of East Asia. In exercising all the powers and duties of the Council of Action which, consequent on the resignation of my colleagues, have vested in me, I believe I am interpreting the Constitution of our Movement in the most politically sound way and thus respecting the mandate of the Indians of East Asia given to me at the Conference held at Bangkok in June this year. I have, from the 9th of December onwards, taken control of the Movement and I once again pledge to serve the cause of Indian Independence without fear and without favour, loyally and conscientiously and to the utmost of my ability. I shall endeavour my very best to interpret the conscience of our people and give effect to their wishes and dictates. I shall not, as far as humanly possible, allow anything, however powerful it maybe, to come between us and our objective, namely the absolute independence of India, free from any foreign control, domination, interference or even influence of any nature. In taking over control, I know, and fully believe, that what I have done—to save the Movement for Indian Independence from collapse—will meet with the approval of my countrymen wherever they may be.

As with many of my countrymen, the cause of Indian independence has always been nearest to my heart. For that I laboured; courted death; courted exile. For full two decades I had been

striving my utmost to pave the way for the liberation of our Motherland. It was not only liberation from the British yoke that I wanted, but liberation from any yoke whatsoever. There was a time when the people of Nippon, among whom I lived, viewed the question of Indian independence with indifference. But I strove on; and to-day I believe that we have succeeded in securing their sympathy and support—an international asset of no mean importance for any nation to have at the present juncture and for the future. We have secured the sympathy of other nations as well. It would have broken my heart if at this moment I had let this Movement die because some of my colleagues took it into their heads that, unless on every point they had their way, they could not go on. On the other hand, I believe that if there are difficulties in the Movement they can and shall be rectified. If there are doubts and fears, they can and will be cleared. If there be even actual obstruction in our path, it is my firm conviction that it should be removed and the way made clear for achieving our object, the much-longed-for and long-awaited independence of Hindustan. The co-operation or otherwise of any nation, however valuable it may be, is not a rock on which the ship of Indian independence should founder. We shall fight our battles with such help, if possible, but without it, if necessary.

The Indian Independence Movement was, as is well known, being carried on even prior to the war. But the declaration of war and the Japanese attitude towards Indian independence outlined in the statement of His Excellency Premier General Tojo made it possible to work this Movement in various countries in East Asia openly and without hindrance. The Movement was started even prior to the Bangkok Conference. We have been carrying it on now for nearly a year. At Bangkok we were given by the delegates assembled there a definite mandate to carry it on, and as a result of that mandate more organisations, both civil and military, were established. We were making progress. Very recently my colleagues felt that some further clarification of our position was necessary for us to work the Movement. With that view I was in complete accord. Where some of us differed was in the contention that without such clarification—and that forthwith—the Movement could not and ought not to proceed. Thus arose a deadlock. In my negotiations for clarification which started immediately on our deciding in the third week of last month to secure such clarification, I found that some time was necessary to obtain results. I, therefore, advised the Council that we should give a little time; that, having carried on the Movement all these months, it would not cause much harm, danger or hardship by carrying it on for a few weeks more in

the same manner as we had been doing; and that, if at the end of our negotiations we could not get satisfactory arrangements made, we were entitled to consider and change our policy, if necessary. It required a little patience and a good deal of perseverance. I felt happy when after discussions amongst ourselves on the 4th of December, it was agreed that matters should be left for further negotiations and for report by the end of next month. On the 5th of December, however, for no apparent reason, I was informed that some of my colleagues again changed their minds and decision arrived at on the previous day was not to be acted upon. It was then that I realised there was more in the move than what appeared on the surface. Immediately on such realisation I began my fight against the move, against the creation of a deadlock, against the break-up of our Movement and disruption of our work. I pleaded with my colleagues not to resign and precipitate a crisis and a deadlock which would result in hardship, misunderstanding and unhappiness and may ultimately damage our cause. I assured them that I was as jealous of our rights as they were. My stay in a foreign country has not made me any the less a patriot than other sons of India, but has only intensified my attachment and affection to my Motherland.

My colleagues resigned on the 8th of December. I have given deep consideration to their letters of resignation. I am of the view that they should not have resigned without consulting the representatives from the various countries in East Asia. I am of opinion also that it was not necessary for them to have resigned at all, as some of them appeared to have done, for the solution of the matters raised by them. But they are their own best judges and so I have accepted their resignation with regret. Since I am confident that the Movement can only be carried on for India's and India's benefit only, and all outstanding questions solved to our satisfaction, I have taken upon myself to continue the Movement with the support and co-operation of the Indians in East Asia. While, on the one hand, I shall be carrying on with my work, I shall, on the other hand, also spare no pains to negotiate and secure for the Movement every facility and support for which my colleagues and I have all the while been asking. At the earliest opportunity I shall be reporting to my countrymen the progress that I shall be making. In the mean time the work will go on, and none on the civil side need entertain the slightest fear. There shall be as little upsets as possible. The Movement shall be carried on as heretofore. I shall endeavour to put into it, as we go along, even deeper enthusiasm and more vigorous activity. I must assure every Branch of the League and also the Indian National Army that my taking over on

myself the rights, duties and responsibilities of the Council of Action need not in any manner mean changes in the constitution, organisation or development of the civil and military institutions that we have endeavoured to create, nurse and nurture during the last few months. I guarantee to them that I shall not be a party to any act that will jeopardise their interests or the interests of our Motherland. Their interests have always formed my sole objective in the work that I have undertaken on myself.

I know I have the trust and confidence of my brothers and sisters in the arduous work ahead. If my opponents call me a puppet, let them do so. But let me assure them that they are sinning against a man whose only end and aim in life is to see his country free, absolutely free and independent, who is as proud of his birth-right as any Indian alive, and who has staked his all and who will stake the last drop of his blood in upholding the honour and integrity of Hindustan. I seek nothing from life except the success of our mission. If once it is accomplished I shall retire into seclusion in some nook or corner of our beautiful Homeland. The full and complete independence of Hindustan is our objective and let no differences, personal or otherwise, colour or creed. obstruct the issue. I appeal to my countrymen to continue to render to me and to this Movement their generous support and co-operation in abundant measure, without which nothing can be accomplished, but with which, I have complete confidence, we shall carry on our fight to its successful termination—the attainment of India's independence. Long Live Hindustan! Vande Mataram!

RASH BEHARI BOSE,
President,
Council of Action, I.I.L

Syonan,
10th Dec., 1942.

Two days later, on Dec. 12, Sri Rash Behari Bose in his new role of a dictator addressed a letter to Gen. Mohan Singh, informing him that the I.N.A. would in future be under his control. Gen. Mohan Singh at once sent the following "Hands off the I.N.A.!" reply, announcing the severance of the Army from the Indian Independence League:

H.Q., I.N.A., 13th Dec., 1942.

Mr. Rash Behari Bose,
Sea View Hotel, Syonan-to.

I am in receipt of your letter of the 12th instant. I maintain that with the resignation of the four members of the Council of

Action you have no authority to assume any of the powers you claim in your letter.

In the preliminary conference held at Tokyo and again at Bangkok we were most anxious that no one individual should have dictatorial powers. We frustrated all attempts in this direction. The outcome of these conferences was the creation of a Council of Action and the limiting of the powers of the President to only giving effect to its decisions. You are now striving to invoke the Constitution to do the very mischief that we took so many precautions to avoid.

We are all faced with a grave situation. All the members of the Council of Action save you have resigned. Rule 12 of the Constitution provides how the vacancies on the Council of Action should be filled up, and, until such vacancies are filled up in the manner stated therein, you cannot arbitrarily assume all the powers and functions of the Council of Action. You may be the sole surviving member, but you cannot act for the whole Council especially in view of Rule 19 of the Constitution, which lays down "the Council of Action shall have collective responsibility". If you do, you do it at your own risk.

It is apparent from your correspondence that you are not only totally ignorant of anything pertaining to an army but have some foolish and misguided notions about it. Let me put down a few facts concerning the Indian National Army which may help to clear your mind.

(a) The members of the Indian National Army are pledged to me and me alone by name, and I am pledged to safeguard the honour and dignity of the I.N.A. We form one indivisible whole. If we are raised and trained for a honourable cause, it is that of securing the unfettered independence of India and not to satisfy the passing whims and fancies of any particular individual.

(b) This army will only be part of any movement if it is convinced that that movement is conducted in the interests of India. It has been found necessary, under the circumstances in which the army was raised and trained, to depart from natural practice and keep the officers informed of the trend of political events. They are fully aware of the position you have held, the part you have played and the manner in which you have played it. There is nothing but disgust and contempt for you. In case you have any false ideas about your popularity in the army after the one or two occasions on which you have had the privilege to visit it, I am more than willing to afford you an opportunity to see their true feeling now.

(c) As already mentioned, the I.N.A. has only one clear object to secure,—the independence of India. This cause is sacred to it, and it is prepared to make any sacrifices, to fight any person or persons for the attainment of its goal.

The events of the last few weeks, however, have convinced us that, under the existing circumstances, we cannot fully serve our Motherland through the Indian Independence League in East Asia, and we have accordingly thought it fit to sever our connection with it.

I have had the opportunity to come across the false and malicious reports, including your statement issued on the 10th instant "To the Indian Patriots of East Asia," concerning our resignations. They constitute a deliberate attempt to misinform and mislead the public as to the true facts. The versions given are all of your own manufacture and one-sided. I am most anxious that the public should be acquainted with the true facts in order to ensure that their patriotism should not be exploited by unscrupulous people wishing to serve their own selfish ends.

I therefore challenge you to face the public at a meeting at which I shall take the opportunity to present the facts and let them decide as to the correct standpoint for themselves. If you do not call such a meeting forthwith, I will be compelled to issue a statement placing all the facts before the public.

The above letter has not been written to disprove the position you hold for yourself in your imagination. You to me have only been the sole surviving member of a defunct Council of Action since the resignation of the others. It is merely written as a courtesy and to avoid future unnecessary instructions by you to the army. Needless to say that, if you still persist in writing anything, it will not be answered.

(Sd.) MOHAN SINGH,
G.O.C., I.N.A.

As the days passed by, the rift between the I.N.A. and the League widened, and the distrust created in the mind of Gen. Mohan Singh that the Movement would founder under the leadership of Rash Behari Bose forced the General to issue the following Special Order of the Day for the dissolution of the Indian National Army:

21st Dec., 1942.

Warning Order—Discontinuation of the I.N.A.

The Indian National Army will be dissolved shortly. It is with deep regret and great reluctance that this decision has been arrived at. Circumstances have arisen under which it is impossible for the

I.N.A. to forge ahead to achieve its goal, i.e., the complete independence of India without any foreign control, influence or interference.

I thank all ranks of the I.N.A. for their loyal and enthusiastic support in this great undertaking. Though we have not been able to achieve our final object, the movement has not been in vain. It has inculcated in us the true national spirit; it has brought a degree of unity amongst us unknown in the past; and it has shown to us and the world at large what we are capable of, if only we are left to our own selves.

All the members of the I.N.A. are welded together into a patriotic group. We were and are prepared for supreme sacrifice. It is up to everyone to ensure that that sacrifice is directed in one and only direction—the achieving of our goal of independence. Let us never forget that great and beautiful land of ours with its 400 millions—our brothers and sisters. To her freedom we are wedded. I therefore appeal to all to continue demonstrating that solidarity and unity that you have so admirably manifested before. I know that you will now and always continue to do so. Remember our strength is our unity and our life is for our country.

A confirmatory order will be sent out as soon as arrangements with the Nipponese are complete. In the event of my being deported from you before such an order is issued, the dissolution will take place automatically and immediately. Also at the same time the resignation of all the members of the I.N.A. and their release from obligations and undertakings to me and the I.N.A. will be taken for granted.

India first and India last. Long live India!

MOHAN SINGH.
G.O.C., I.N.A.

On the morning of the 29th December, 1942, Gen. Mohan Singh was called to the office of the Iwakuro Kikan, Mount Pleasant, on the telephone. The General went there accompanied by Lt. Iqbal. Besides some Japanese officers, Sri Rash Behari Bose and his Secretary Sri B. K. Das were already there. As soon as General Mohan Singh arrived, Col Iwakuro produced before him a letter containing certain conditions under which the General would have to work with the I.N.A. When the General refused to abide by those conditions, he was shown another letter signed by Rash Behari Bose dismissing him from the post of G.O.C., I.N.A. Gen. Mohan Singh was then taken to a sea-side bungalow and kept there under detention for two months. He was afterwards removed to a near-by island and kept there till the end of December, 1943. Later he was taken to Sumatra and detained in that island till the surrender of the Japanese.

CHAPTER—XII

THE ULTIMATUM OF THE THIRTEEN.

In spite of the decision arrived at by the heads of the League Branches in Malaya that the Movement should be carried on and that full and unreserved support be given to the President, Mr. Rash Behari Bose, signs of internal disintegration as a result of doubts and difficulties were not wanting. In the first place, no clarification of Japan's policy towards India was forthcoming. Though there were one or two references to the Indian Independence Movement by Premier Tojo in the Imperial Diet, there had been no formal declaration in the manner indicated by the Council of Action. Moreover, lack of co-ordination between the personnel of the Indian National Army and civilian leaders militated against the greatly desired solidarity of the Movement. Furthermore, wholesale purges had taken place in the Army without the knowledge of the Malaya Branch, which was in the nature of things vitally interested in the maintenance of good and proper relations between the military and the civilian sides of the Movement in Malaya. As if the cup of misery were not already full, undue interference from the Iwakuro Kikan with the League activities created an atmosphere of mutual distrust.

Under these circumstances the President and members of the Territorial Committee of Malaya submitted the following Memorandum, which was to all intents and purposes an ultimatum that, if things were not set right, they would send in their resignations:

Syonan, 21st February, 1943.

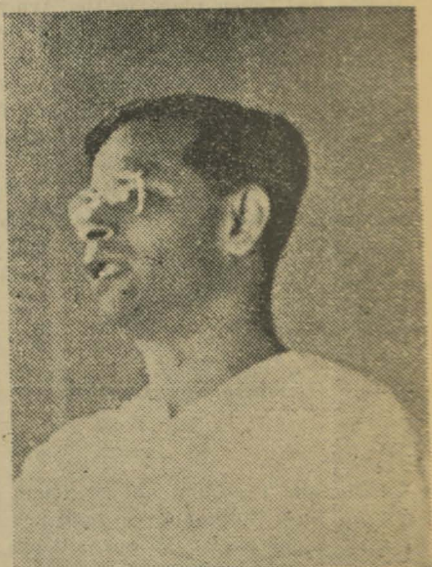
The President,
Council of Action,
INDIAN INDEPENDENCE LEAGUE,
Syonan.

SIR,

We, the President and members of the Territorial Committee of Malaya, have the honour to send you the accompanying Memorandum decided upon by us at our sittings in Penang from 18th to 21st February 2603 (1943).

The matters raised in this Memorandum have been those troubling us for some time past and considered by us very carefully and in detail at our said sittings. In presenting this Memorandum to you we would like, lest we should be misunderstood, to make our position clear. Most of us are persons who have been engaged in originating and organising the Indian Independence League Move-

ment in this part of East Asia ever since December, 2601 (1941). It is indeed a matter of pain to us that even after more than a year of working, we are still in the stage of evolving understandings on principles, instead of working on details. It is a matter of personal faith and conviction to us that the Indian Independence Movement should be worked to a complete success. With this object in view we have been striving hard in spite of difficulties, but we have at present come to a stage when we find that our objective will not be achieved, if some of the present tendencies are not checked in time, and the Movement galvanised into fresh activity by creating internal unity and confidence and also by securing a full, whole-hearted and correct assistance and co-operation from the Iwakuro Kikan and other Japanese authorities. It is with this end in view that we are forwarding to you this Memorandum.



MR. N. RAGHAVAN

We hope that we shall not be considered as mere critics, light-hearted or intentionally attempting to sabotage a Movement which we believe in, in the service of which we have sacrificed our time and energy, and for the furtherance of which we stand committed. In fact, to one and all of us this Movement is one of life and death. We therefore request you most respectfully to give this, our Memorandum, your closest attention and consideration and to secure for us a satisfactory solution of the various doubts and difficulties raised therein. We regret that in spite of repeated attempts by us we could not have the privilege of your presence and advice at our sittings.

We hope we have put in only important matters on which we cannot make compromises without compromising our principles and our conscience. It is our belief that in the solution of our difficulties and the establishment of complete confidence in mutual relations lies

the resuscitation and future expansion of this great Movement, and it is in that conviction that we have definitely come to the conclusion that we shall have to stand down and let the Branch be run by others if there cannot be any change for the better, any change resulting in the solution of our difficulties and the prevention of future problems of a similar nature.

We hope that you will make every effort to help us,. and pray that your efforts will be crowned with success. If unsuccessful, we regret we shall have no other option except to tender our own resignations.

Yours in service,

N. Raghavan, President, Malaya Branch; S. C. Goho, Member, Ex. Council; M. K. Lukshumeyah, Member, Ex. Council; John A. Thivy, President, Perak Branch; J. N. Bhaduri; Palayil Gopi; D. K. Majumdar; K P. K. Menon; G. Maganlal; O. A. R. Arunachalam Chettiar; M. K. Ramachandran; N. K. Menon; S. N. K. Nagappa.

MEMORANDUM SUBMITTED TO THE PRESIDENT, COUNCIL OF ACTION, INDIAN INDEPENDENCE LEAGUE, EAST ASIA, BY THE TERRITORIAL COMMITTEE, MALAYA.

1. Decisions arrived at the Conference of Malayan Presidents.

During the Conference of the Malayan Presidents held in Syonan on 8th and 9th December, 2602 (1942), the following decisions, which were communicated to you, were arrived at:—

(a) That the Movement should be continued and that complete support be given to Sri Rash Behari Bose, President of the Council of Action, to carry on the Movement.

(b) That Sri N. Raghavan should continue as President of the Malaya Branch.

(c) That Sri Rash Behari Bose be requested to try every possible means to secure a clarification of all matters relating to the Movement from the Tokyo Government by Declarations, Statements and otherwise at as early a date as possible.

(d) That, while the normal working of the Movement is to be carried on as usual, any further forward move should be decided only after such Declaration and Statement.

2. Clarification of Japanese Policy.

We have been anxiously awaiting such clarification from the Tokyo Government by Declarations, Statements or otherwise, but so far, except for two references by His Excellency Premier General

Tojo, nothing has happened. The references were not of the kind or form expected by us, in that we had in mind a much more solemn and formal Declaration as was asked for by you and other members of the Council of Action pursuant to the Bangkok Resolutions. Being anxious to get a move forward we have in our Territorial Committee Meeting held between the 18th and the 21st of February 2603, decided as follows:

I. That while this Committee gratefully appreciates the references to Indian Independence made by His Excellency Premier General Tojo in the House of Peers and in the Budget Committee of the House of Representatives of the Imperial Diet during January and February of this year (as reported in the Malayan Press), it records its disappointment at the fact that no formal or solemn declaration has been made as requested by this Movement clarifying in full the policy of Japan towards India.

II. That this Committee, while it was disappointed at the statement of the Chief of the Iwakuro Kikan to the Indian National Army in January that it would not be, for constitutional reasons, possible to elicit a more detailed reply regarding the attitude of Nippon on the resolutions passed at the Bangkok Conference of June last year, appreciates his subsequent statement "However I am intending to take a step in the near future which may give more satisfaction to the League" and requests such reply may be elicited at the earliest opportunity to proceed with the various steps forward which are required to be taken in this Movement in Malaya.

3. Need for co-ordination between the civilian and the military sides of the Movement.

It is unnecessary to point out that there was a good deal of propaganda against the civilian side of the Movement in the rank and file of the Indian National Army and by some Officers of that army. Even now we have found a tendency to keep the two sides separate; for example, in no place have facilities been afforded between Indian Army Camps and Branches of the Indian Independence League to come into close contact and co-operation. This was evident from the alleged action taken by the Indian Officers in Kuala Lumpur, who, without thinking it desirable to approach the local Branch of the League, went and approached the Japanese Army Commander for information regarding the Indian National Army crisis as well as of the future of the Indian National Army. The ultimate result was, we gather, all the Indian Army volunteers

also became prisoners of war. We have also to point out that written statements were made to the Army in connection with the crisis which were withheld to the civilians. Unknown to the Malaya Branch, and without seeking the co-operation of its propaganda department, even a newspaper has been started and circulated in the army. We believe it was decided by you after the crisis that propaganda in the army should mainly be done by the civilian side, that is, by the League Branch, which in this case is the Malaya Branch. Now a view is prevalent among civilians that their education and their co-operation are not so essential to the Movement. It will be pitiable to have such an impression gaining ground. The Movement is one Movement and both the army and the civilian sides must be educated to feel as one, failing which further crises might occur. With that view the following resolution was adopted by the Territorial Committee:

> That this Committee views with concern the tendency at present adopted of withholding from Indian civilians statements made and information relating to the Indian National Army and respectfully points out that in order to unify the Movement and prevent further estrangements between the civilian side and the military side there should be more co-ordination in work and activities and better facilities provided for mutual relations and interchange of ideas between civilian Indian organisations and population and the Indian Military.

4. **Re-organisation of the I.N.A.**

Various rumours have been afloat regarding the re-organisation of the Indian National Army. We as a Branch have not been able to elicit much information through official channels and even if we get such information we have not been in a position to find out whether such information could be made use of. Recently we have also had news that, contrary to the promises made by you, wholesale purges from the army and other actions have been taken. Of these also we have not been kept informed, though any such action would certainly have its reactions on the civilian side of the Movement. Though we cannot in any way interfere or object to any action taken in connection with the Army, yet being the Branch on the spot, we would have considered it a great privilege to be informed of such important steps and the reasons for taking them. Even Governments are known to have taken the public into their confidence sufficiently in advance in connection with vital steps, so that any adverse propaganda will be nipped in the bud. The public in this instance, we need hardly point out, are the members of the

Indian Independence League organisation. So we passed at this meeting the following resolution:

That this Committee requests that in the matter of re-organisation of the Indian National Army (a) that the promises given in the statement to the Patriots of East Asia dated 10th December, 2602, by the President of the Council of Action be given effect to and (b) that representatives from the civilian side be immediately consulted and their views obtained by the President, Council of Action; this Committee further offers its services in the matter of such re-organisation as it is the view of this Committee that, as a direct consequence of the presence of the Indian National Army in Malaya and the repercussions that any disturbance in the said army will be having on the Movement in Malaya, this Branch is vitally interested in having its views heard regarding such reorganisation.

5. **Liaison between League Branches and Indian Army Camps.**

Regarding the resolution given below we have to point out that, if information given to us of an incident in Kuala Lumpur recently is any criterion, the Indian army has not been given any orders or directions to look upon the civilian side of the Movement as part of themselves. If such had been the case, we could have done a good deal of propaganda both active and passive amongst the soldiers in favour of Indian independence and unity. Though you directed orally that such liaison should be established between League Branches and the Indian Army Camps, such directions, we understand, have not yet been given to the Officers of the Indian Army or to those who are controlling its destinies. Hence this resolution:

This Committee, having had information about certain discouraging tendencies that are at work in the policy pursued on the mainland of Malaya regarding surplus volunteers, is of the view that all possible support is not being given at the present time to encourage and foster the expansion of the Indian National Army from amongst such surplus volunteers and prisoners of war.

6. **Department of Information and Publicity.**

The position of propaganda work which you directed by your order dated 20th December, addressed to the President, Malaya Branch, to be taken over by that Branch and worked in this locality has not been very satisfactory, and is more or less in the same plight as in the days of the previous management. While we had

the fullest expressions of co-operation and goodwill from the Chief of the Malayan Branch of the Iwakuro Kikan, the policy that is being pursued in practice (whether known to the Chief we cannot say) is one of frequent interference, sabotage of loyalty and the introduction of an atmosphere that the Department is being run not by us but by a subordinate officer of the Iwakuro Kikan. At first on certain oral arrangements we took over the Information Bureau, the Indian Press and the newspapers and the Broadcasting Station, and a scheme was prepared. The Information Bureau was subsequently abolished, and the Staff disbanded, without formal intimation to Sri Goho, member in charge, Propaganda, or to this Branch. Subsequently doubts were thrown as to whether the Indian Press has been handed over to us. On the 13th of this month Sri Goho was told that a scheme as drawn up by us is unacceptable to the Kikan, though no reasons were given. Another scheme in very vague and ambiguous terms has been handed over to Sri Goho by the Kikan, under which the position is so uncertain that we find ourselves unable to work. We are anxious to do this very important work of the Movement, but all the enthusiasm with which we started has been damped. This was exhaustively discussed and both schemes studied by this Committee who passed the following resolution. This we hope will receive your sympathy and support and also the approval of the Iwakuro Kikan:

This Committee, having considered the draft schemes prepared by its Information and Publicity Department and the Iwakuro Kikan, is of opinion that such information and publicity work be not taken over by this Branch or by the Movement unless facilities are given to work in substance the scheme prepared by our Department and as now amended by us and would respectfully point out that a Department cannot be worked in the spirit that we would like to work it and to the utmost benefit of our Movement unless the control, direction and management of such information and publicity work be left in the hands of this Branch with such advice as may be found necessary of the Iwakuro Kikan.

7. **Attempts by the Kikan to establish direct contact with workers and outsiders.**

Interference regarding the Indian Press and the Information Bureau and in certain places like Penang encouragement and patronage of persons who are not favourably disposed towards the Movement (instances can be given if required) have made this Committee pass the following resolution. We hope the Iwakuro Kikan will realise that it is of great importance to us to have

their confidence and that it may weaken us in Malaya if parties other than the accredited leaders of the League will be receiving their confidence and are being made use of for work in connection with India and Indians. We do not like to be more specific in the matter as we do not wish to appear to have encroached upon the secrecy adopted by the Kikan:

That this Committee is of opinion that there has been frequent attempts by particular individuals in influencing directly (and not through this Branch) the minor workers and other members of the League as a result of which their loyalty to the Movement has been affected and the discipline and strength of organisation reduced.

8. **Filling up vacancies in the Council of Action and establishing greater co-ordination between the League and the Japanese.**

Anxiety is growing in different quarters in Malaya regarding the filling up of the vacancies in the Council of Action as it is essential for the Movement to run its normal course as early as possible. It is also desirable that now when we start afresh we should start with renewed vigour and with the fullest possible confidence and understanding. It is with this end in view that this Committee has passed the following resolutions:

This Committee is of the opinion in order to secure our common objective it is important that the vacancies in the Council of Action be filled up at the earliest opportunity.

This Committee is of the opinion that in order to secure more efficient and more united working and success in the common objectives we have in view (a) there should be more of mutual confidence between the Japanese side and the Indian side: (b) that the Indian Independence Movement should not even appear to have been influenced, run or directed by any one other than Indians; (c) that there should be a perfect understanding by the Indian Independence League of Japan's exact policy towards India and the methods and means of working out that policy and that for such understanding the Japanese side do give us effective co-operation; (d) that the principal men of action should be taken into confidence with reference to Japan's plans in advising and assisting the Movement for securing its objectives; (e) with regard to any Japanese action concerning India or Indians this Movement should be taken into confidence; (f) that before taking any military action against the British in India there should be mutual consultations and discussions between the Indian leaders vitally interested in the Move-

ment and the Japanese advisers and experts as partners in a common enterprise.

9. Local problems affecting the Indian Community.

Right from the very inception of this Movement it fulfilled a dual role. While it did organisation and propaganda to prepare the community in the work of Indian independence, it also did not neglect local affairs, local needs and problems. There was an understanding between Major Fujiwara and ourselves and subsequently between the Iwakuro Kikan and ourselves, that it is important for the League to perform the functions of a social and economic welfare association also and departments to that effect were created in the Branches. If we had not done so, the Indian community of Malaya would have suffered for want of an organisation like the Oversea Chinese Association for the Chinese. On the part of the Kikan they helped us considerably in making the Administration and other authorities understand that, though the name of our organisation indicated purely political work in connection with Indian Independence, yet we had to do all work for service of the Indian community and that for such reason we should be considered as the sole organisation of Indians in the country. It was realised that if the old Central Indian Association of Malaya and its constituent bodies (Indian Associations) were continued to satisfy the social needs of the community there would be whittling down of energies and divided efforts and workers interested in parallel organisations—a position which would not be helpful to the Movement. Recently, however, our President has been told that this policy of the Kikan has been changed and, while we were asked previously to consider the Iwakuro Kikan as a liaison department for all our needs, we should now look to them only for assistance in connection with Indian independence work. Though as residents of this country we have always appreciated and worked upon the principle that direct contact with the Administration is necessary for us in the long run, yet we would consider it a great favour if the Kikan would for some time more take interest in our community problems and actively help us in solving our difficulties. Solution through direct contact will take more of our time and efforts and will to that extent hamper our independence work. The following resolution drafted by us will, we hope, be receiving the sympathetic consideration at the hands of the Kikan and we shall thank you, if in this case also as in other matters raised in this memorandum, you will be able to secure for us the support and co-operation of the Kikan;

This Committee has occasion to note with extreme regret an apparent change in the policy of the Iwakuro Kikan in that the generous assistance which this Branch is privileged to receive since the inception of the Movement in Malaya for the solution of its local difficulties and problems is at present being either withheld or not given in sufficient measure, as, for example, in such matters as education, wages, toddy, labour employment, economic existence and development.

10. **Indian Youth Movement.**

There has been an attempt recently to organise an Indian Youth Movement by the Iwakuro Kikan. It was the agreed policy of the Kikan until recently to take no direct action in matters connected with the Indian community except when asked for by the League. The Chief of the Iwakuro Kikan on more than one occasion expressed the view that they would take only the role of advisers and helpers. On a famous occasion he expressively mentioned that "if you ask for fish we shall not give you meat, and if you ask for meat we shall not give you fish, and if you ask for nothing we shall not press on you anything. What you ask we shall give, nothing more nothing less" (in a speech to the Joint Conference at Bangkok). This policy is not always observed in spirit at present. The recent reorganisation of an Indian Youth Movement is an example. We shall deem it a great favour if the present effort is stopped and advice given to the League Headquarters (Malaya Branch) on the matter. We have a scheme of the kind ourselves which for certain reasons we have been withholding, but if it is the view of the Kikan that such a step should immediately be taken, we shall consider the matter in that light, but on no account can we agree to the principle of direct action by the Kikan officials in the matter. If in spite of our disagreement on this issue the matter is pursued further, we can visualise future complications. Hence the following resolution:

That this Committee, having considered a Scheme for a Youth Movement on which it has been withholding action pending an opportune moment, views with grave concern the attempt that has been made to organise an Indian Youth Movement by the Iwakuro Kikan, instead of leaving such Movement to be organised by this Branch itself.

11. **Communal Unity.**

We feel certain that you are aware of the various difficulties that we are having because of communal troubles, British fifth columnists and also those who for some reason or other do sly

propaganda against Indo-Nippon understanding. Objection to Indian National Flag is only an attempt to weaken the Movement. Weakening the Movement is an attempt to strike not necessarily at India but also the war efforts of Japan and Indo-Nippon understanding. Some activities, however, are due to petty personal reasons. It has been found that propaganda and education on our part without stronger measures will not by themselves be helpful to us. No Movement or organisation engaged in such a struggle as ours can view with equanimity and sit quiet when attempts are being made—whatever may be the reason—to injure the Movement. In this connection we have found it absolutely essential to require the assistance of the authorities. In some places they are forthcoming, as in Penang recently in connection with an arch described to have been put up by the Indian Muslim Community for the 15th of February celebrations. If such help is general in Malaya, it will be of great advantage to us. Without such help the prestige of the League will suffer; its orders and directions will be challenged with impunity and on the promptings of interested busibodies; and the organisation that we have built up may be reduced to the status of a mere political association. It is therefore in the full hope that this requirement will be satisfied that we have passed the following resolution:

> That this Committee is of the opinion that, having tried propaganda and education in order to secure communal unity, the occasion has now arisen to take more stringent action against those Indians who are guilty or reasonably suspected of activities that are bound to injure Indian unity, Indo-Nippon friendship and/or other vital objects of this Movement, and requests effective assistance from all Japanese authorities in the pursuit of our policy to establish such unity and further the objects of this Movement.

12. **Collection of donations from the Indian Community.**

Regarding the collection of donations from the Indian community, we understood that this matter as regards Malaya is being left to the President of this Branch. If that be so, we appeal to you to secure for us similar assistance from the authorities as indicated in the last paragraph. We do appreciate that we have come to a stage with regard to these collections where we cannot but go forward. If we leave matters where they are, the position of the Movement here and the respect and regard in which it is held will considerably suffer. Those loyal to the Movement have paid, others are still wavering and some others who have so far received all the benefits of the Movement and have shown lip sympathy are not only

withholding payment but obstructing others. We have also had to contend with official obstructions regarding collection of money as in Syonan. The sense of this Committee has been that it will be difficult to complete our assessment if Indians who are loyal to the Movement have by themselves to shoulder the whole burden and Indians who are wavering in their support are allowed to go scot free. So the following resolution was passed:

> This Committee is of opinion that in order to complete the collection of donations from the Indian community to the Indian Independence Fund started by the President of the Council of Action, it is necessary to secure assistance and co-operation from the Japanese authorities and requests that such assistance as may be required by the Presidents of Branches or the President of the Malaya Branch may be made available to them. And this committee further authorises the President on the direction of the President of the Council of Action to institute if and so far as may be necessary a more equitable distribution of liabilities among the States, or for the reduction of amounts which any particular State is at present liable to.

13. Outlook on present situation.

This Committee also passed the following resolution indicating its outlook on the present situation:

> That this Committee, whilst endorsing the decisions taken at the Presidents' Conference of 8th and 9th December, 2602, is of the view that no further forward move is to be made until the conditions specified in the decisions of the said conference are satisfied.

14. Inability of Committee to continue in office unless problems solved.

There was a definite opinion among the members of the Committee not to embarrass you or the authorities in any manner at present while you are engaged in the solution of certain other difficulties. However, due to our past experiences it was found that the matters raised were of such importance for the future progress of the Movement that the Committee unanimously considered that they could not continue if there was not to be an effective solution of the difficulties that they have to contend with. The members of the Committee deliberated calmly and at length. They came to conclusions only after the full examination of incidents, details and policy. They are enthusiasts in the cause. They believe in furthering it with all their might, but they are of the

view that the Movement in Malaya should be run in such a way so that stones cannot be thrown at it, and so that it should develop in utmost confidence and so gather the momentum which is essential for obtaining our goal. The following resolution will, we hope, be not regarded as an attempt by any one to withhold his support and co-operation with this Movement, but will be considered as indicative of the importance that this Committee attaches to the solution of our problems:

> This Committee resolves that if satisfactory solution of the difficulties and problems that it has encountered in the effective working of this Movement as indicated in the above resolutions is not possible, the President and Territorial Committee of the Malaya Branch along with the Presidents of the various Branches and Sub-Branches may be allowed to send their resignations.

Assuring you of our closest co-operation and awaiting your valued commands. For and on behalf of the Territorial Committee of Malaya.

Yours in Service,
(Sgd.) N. RAGHAVAN,
President,
Indian Independence League, Malaya Branch.

CHAPTER—XIII

LEAGUE ON WAR FOOTING

Important changes affecting the working of the League in Malaya resulted from the sittings of the Territorial Committee at Penang and Singapore in February and March, 1943. Sri N. Raghavan resigned his office of the President of the Malaya Branch and was succeeded by Dr. M. K. Lukshumeyah. The East Asia Headquarters of the League was transferred from Bangkok to Singapore, making Malaya the base for future operations. The Indian National Army was reorganised under Lt.-Col. J. K. Bhonsle, who was appointed Director of the Military Bureau. Lt.-Col. M. Z. Kiani was made the Commander of the Army.

With a view to transforming the League into a fighting organisation, Sri Rash Behari Bose, who had assumed dictatorial powers, issued the following scheme for immediate adoption and execution:

Owing to a series of "crises" and resignations, the general public had begun to entertain doubts regarding the progress of the Indian Independence Movement. But the fact is that the Movement was never slow in its forward march irrespective of obstacles, impediments and "crises." The time has, however, come when we must

examine the background and the surrounding circumstances under which the Movement came into being and I find these factors need radical changes.

Whereas in June, 1942, India was pressing for independence from the British, to-day she is fighting for it against Britain, both spiritually and physically. It was to increase the physical pressure against the British war-effort that Mahatma Gandhi recently risked his very life. The collapse of the British war-effort would have meant the retreat of the Anglo-American forces now in contact with the Japanese forces on the Indian border. The extent to which the British forces retire is the extent to which the Japanese forces advance; and that contact cannot be broken till one side is defeated. What is obvious to us, is obvious to the Indian National Congress. The Congress has considered the consequences and made the choice.

The safeguards and assurances for which we asked in June, 1942, are therefore now not necessary. Our job is only to convert the potential strength of the Congress into an actuality and help the Congress in establishing a National Government. The League is not a State, but only the begetter of a State. The future constitution of India as well as the relation of the Indian National Government with Japan will be decided by the Congress itself.

In the past we have followed a system of collective responsibility and elections similar to that adopted by the Congress in peace-time to wrest political control by a process of evolution. But now our object is revolution. In the past the resignation of a member or members had resulted in the dislocation to a certain extent of vital departments, Civil or Military. This may be tolerated in peace time, but never in time of war. My immediate concern is to maintain the League as a fighting organisation. The following interim plan has, therefore, been drawn up to put the League on a war footing:

1. **Introduction:** Freedom cannot be won only by having a longing for it. The success of each Branch of the Indian Independence League will be judged from the number of young men it can educate and train as potential fighting men for the independence of India. The League Branches, therefore, have three main functions: (1) The political awakening of the masses with a view to producing a body of patriots with a revolutionary spirit. (2) To obtain the financial and moral support of all those who cannot take active part in the Movement. (3) To undertake due share of social uplift and relief work without getting involved in local administrative problems. To give concrete shape to item No. 1, a Youth Section will be started immediately. A Women's Section with its own President is to be started wherever practicable. A movement for boys and girls under 17 should also be started. In all Indian Schools

Hindustani should be taught as primary language. National Anthem (Bande Mataram) and other patriotic songs shall be sung and significance of daily saluting of the National Flag taught. The body of spirited young people so produced will help in the other activities of the League.

2. **Naujawan Section (Youth Section) 18 to 30 years:** The object is to train Indian youths in East Asia to (1) become revolutionary soldiers in the fight for India's independence and (2) to behave as free citizens who with their example will foster the spirit of independence among the inhabitants of occupied territories. It is suggested that where the Vice-Presidents of the local Branches are willing to serve the National cause actively, they themselves may take over the Youth Section, otherwise suitable young men shall be appointed by the Presidents concerned.

3. **Syllabus:** The following is issued as guide. Time tables and periods of training will, of course, vary according to the facilities in each centre.

(i) Weapon Training—Rifle, Pistol, Grenade, Tommy Gun; A.R.P.; Hygiene Meetings; Singing of Indian National Anthem; Hoisting of Indian National Flag; Bicycle trips to places 30 or 40 miles away; Cooking own food; Entertainment—National and Social Dramas.

(ii) Physical Training—Labour, building of wooden bridges, swimming, digging slit trenches, rowing, games.

(iii) Education—Teaching of Hindustani, significance of the War of Greater East Asia, Geography, Topography, maps with special reference to India, weak points in British War organisation, and civil administration in India, History of British aggression in India, study of lives of Congress leaders.

(iv) National Discipline—Obey before you command, Spirit of sacrifice, Building of Character, Self-reliance, Right living, Right thinking, Spiritual training, Love for country and elders, Ordinary Military Discipline, Punctuality.

(v) National Culture—Common manners and customs, Army salute, Common food.

(vi) Uniform—Khaki shirt and shorts, Khaki Gandhi Cap with double fold, Tricolour rectangle 3″ x 2″ on the left arm.

4. **Organisation:** Unit of 10 = a Section; 4 Sections = a Platoon; 4 Platoons = a Company; 5 Companies = a Battalion; 3 Battalions = a Regiment; 3 Regiments = a Formation. For the present each Branch should aim at a maximum of one Company at the discretion of the Territorial President. The training will be the entire responsibility of the League Branch and should be carried out on the most economical lines, e.g., those who can afford should

be encouraged to meet their own expenses. The Naujawan Section is a popular movement run on the lines of the Boy Scout Movement. Owing to a shortage of Khaki cloth, uniforms may be difficult to obtain, but work should nevertheless begin at once. A tour of inspection will be arranged by this Headquarters during the month of April. Local Presidents will be informed of the programme of the tour, so that they can put their requirements, if any, to the touring party.

5. **Training Centres for Youth Workers:** (a) Azad School, Syonan: An experimental school for training 50 youth workers will be started at Syonan with effect from the 15th April, 1943. The first course will last two months, at the end of which these trained workers will be available for posting to the Naujawan Sections of the various Branches. (b) Swaraj Youths Training Institute, Rangoon: The Burma Branch is running its own centre at Rangoon on the lines of the Azad School, Syonan. (c) Bharat Youth Training Centre, Kuala Lumpur: Provides spiritual and military training to selected young men of the Youth Sections from all Branches in East Asia. At present 961 youths are under training and will be ready for disposal by the end of June, 1943.

The present scheme for actual military training is for 10,000 volunteers to be trained by the end of this year. In view of the limited training staff that can be spared by the Indian National Army and the expenditure involved, not more than 5,000 youths can be trained at one time. If accommodation is available, the Kuala Lumpur Centre will be expanded to accommodate these 5,000. Otherwise, more centres will be opened to accommodate that number.

The following approximate quota should be kept ready by the middle of June:— Thailand 1,000, Burma 1,000, Malaya 1,000, Hongkong and Shanghai 1,000, Borneo and Sumatra 1,000, and Java, Philippines, Celebes 1,000—total 6,000. All will not be absorbed in the I.N.A. Some will go to schools such as the Officers Training School or the Civil Administration School, while others will go back as fully trained instructors for training the youths in each territory in East Asia. The names of trained personnel will be put on the list of reserve volunteers to be called up when required. All Territorial Branches will please inform this Headquarters of the number of youths likely to be forthcoming during 1943. Note: Pocket money at the rate of $8 per head will be given to all those undergoing training at the above centres.

6. **Other Activities of the League:** It is notified for information that the following institutions will be started as soon as accommodation and staff are available:— (a) Officers Training School: For the training of future officers of the Indian National Army. Vacancies will be allotted both to the civilians being trained

at Kuala Lumpur and candidates from the Indian National Army. (b) Staff College: For the higher training of senior officers of the I.N.A. (c) Civil Administration School: For the political training of officers, both civil and military. The civilians will be chosen from among the students of the various training institutes. Special cases can be recommended by the Territorial Presidents.

7. **Reorganisation of Headquarters:** In order to cope with the immediate task in hand the Headquarters of the League has been reorganised.

(Sd.) RASH BEHARI BOSE, President,
Indian Independence League
Headquarters, East Asia.

7, Chancery Lane, Syonan,
3rd April, 2603.

CHAPTER—XIV

SYONAN CONFERENCE

As the Constitution adopted at the Bangkok Conference was found to be defective in many ways for a revolutionary organisation such as the Indian Independence League, a second conference of the Indians in East Asia was held at Syonan (Singapore) from the 27th to 30th April, 1943, to confirm the action taken by the President, Sri Rash Behari Bose, after the crisis and to alter the Constitution in order to place the League on war footing. A large number of representatives from various parts of East Asia attended the Conference. Sri Rash Behari Bose addressed the gathering as follows:

It is with mingled feelings of joy and regret that we are meeting to-day to discuss ways and means for the liberation of our Motherland. This is the third time within a short period of one year that we are meeting for one and the same purpose.

I used the words "feelings of joy and regret"—joy because our enemy is being consistently defeated by the Imperial Nippon forces and thus the British chain of Imperialism which is strangling India is being weakened daily and our hopes of independence are brightening; regret, because the actions of some of my colleagues have marred temporarily the speedy progress of our Movement. But with the help of Almighty God all the difficulties have been overcome, the whole Movement has been rejuvenated and placed on a more solid ground than hitherto and I can assure you that if I continue to receive your full support and co-operation, our success is at hand.

Before going any further I shall repeat my words of warning which I gave in the very opening chapter of my speech at the Bangkok Conference. I wish to reiterate the same words, as I hope, that it will not be necessary for us to meet again before the

liberation of India. I said thus: However, if I have obeyed your command and taken this chair in spite of my knowledge of the intricacies of the problems that may confront me, I have been prompted to do so by my great faith in your sincere desire to put your heads together and to come to useful decisions without wasting much of your time on unnecessary discussions and arguments. I was prompted by the experience of the Tokyo Conference to give these words of warning but, despite all that, the result of the deliberations of the Bangkok Conference is well known to you. To remedy the shortcomings of the last Conference, it has been necessary for me to call you the representatives of different territories in East Asia, and also the representatives of the Indian National Army. Let us put our heads together once again and work out a plan which should be very short and effective in our organisation and the progress of the Movement. It is a time for action and not words, so you must avoid all lengthy arguments and jugglery of words. Before working out a plan you must remember two points, (a) that Japan is at war and we can expect only what can conveniently be given to us because their needs are above ours and (b) we are preparing to get into action very soon, so the constitution should be as brief and simple as possible.

I do not wish to take up much of your time by reading out to you the history of the Indian Independence Movement, but I would like to mention a few facts which should always be remembered by every Indian. The foundation of Indian Independence was laid in 1857 when the most ruthless policies of the British resulted in a catastrophic breakdown in the social and economic life of the Indians, and the dissatisfaction of the people against British domination finally reached the bursting point when almost the whole country revolted to oust the British from India. This battle for Indian Independence was described by the British as the Indian Mutiny. But was that a Mutiny? I say no, it was a holy war against the inhuman treatment of Indians by the British.

It failed because there was no capable leader to lead the Movement to a success. Six thousand of our compatriots were hanged just because they were asking for their birthright. But since that day the seeds of Swaraj have been nourished by the blood of thousands of our beloved and respected leaders. Just a few days ago mass meetings were held in all the territories in East Asia in memory of the martyrs of Jalianwallah Bhag. Let us pay respect to the memory of all those numberless known and unknown comrades who laid down their lives in the cause of their Motherland. The time is fast approaching when in every city and town in India we shall find a worthy monument erected in their memory so that

posterity will pay homage to them and look upon them with pride.

You all know that great changes have taken place both in and outside India since the Bangkok Conference last year and so it is essential that we should also speed up our activities to keep pace with the progres of world events. You all know that the "Quit India" resolution was passed by the Congress Committee in the presence of Mahatma Gandhi on 8th August, last year, and immediately after the meeting of Congress Committee, Mahatma Gandhi and the President of the Congress, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, and all other leaders were imprisoned. It was then that the active struggle of unarmed people commenced against the armed forces of Britain. Thousands upon thousands have been thrown into prisons.

Defenceless people have been shot dead and they are still being murdered daily. Villages have been bombed and machine-gunned and the properties of the innocent confiscated. But the war continues unabated and it will continue until India is free. It is therefore imperative that we should do our bit at this end to lighten the burden of our compatriots at home. Now is the time for action and not for talk. Our people are suffering under the tyrannical rule of the British in India and it is the duty of every Indian in the East to be ready to sacrifice his all when the call of his country comes.

The War of Greater East Asia is a gift from God for us Indians and every day which follows, looks brighter for Indians. Practically all the Far East has been cleared of the Anglo-Saxon races and their allies and it will not be long before India will also rank among the free nations of the world. I have been working in Japan for decades and I know that Japan is in a position to stand by the oppressed Asians and to liberate Asia.

I was anxiously awaiting the day when Japan would fully realize the great significance of creating a free and united Asia and would feel convinced that it was in the interests of Japan itself, as also for the rest of Asia if not for the world as a whole, that the octopus grip of the Anglo-Saxon Imperialism in the East must be destroyed root and branch. I was fully convinced that Japan alone was in a position to take the honour. I knew well that she was not in the habit of taking any serious steps unless she had fully weighed her strength and was convinced of her success.

The ultimate result of her action is well known to you all. Realizing the full significance of the situation, China joined hand with Japan and declared war on the Anti-Axis powers. Japan, on the other hand, as a true friend took the lead and relinquished her extra-territorial rights in China which was consequently followed by all other friendly nations. The dream of Dr. Sun Yat Sen, the

father of China, has been realised through the help and co-operation of Japan.

Another important happening since the Bangkok Conference is the declaration made by His Excellency General Hideki Tojo, the Premier of Japan, promising Burmese people their independence within this year. One cannot over-emphasise the good intention of Japan towards all Asiatic people and the case of Burma is an outstanding example of such intention. I take the liberty of congratulating my brethren in Burma on this very auspicious occasion.

Let us not forget that the greatest living Indian, Mahatma Gandhi, who undertook twenty-one days fast, partly to inspire the Indian masses to redouble their fight against the British and partly to disclose the most heinous of crimes committed by the inhuman British against the unarmed and defenceless people. To survive a fast of twenty-one days in a prison at the age of 74 is in my mind no less than a miracle. Mahatmaji scored a great moral victory over the British. Let us pray that God may spare him long to lead us to success.

I am proud to say that the Indian National Army has been re-established on more solid and firm foundation and when the time comes, your comrades-in-arms will fight to the last man in the cause of their country. They deserve our great respect for the service they have rendered but their greater service is still awaiting our decision. No one can doubt the bravery of our soldiers in a righteous fight for a righteous cause. Our sympathy goes to the families and friends of those Indian soldiers who erroneously believed that they were fighting for a right cause and lost their lives in Africa and Asia. They have been misled by the same propaganda of lies by the British which is responsible for the tinge of suspicion in the minds of so many of us.

I bow my head to the bravery of our soldiers and we should have no doubt that with their wholehearted support we are going to win our final fight. Let us stand shoulder to shoulder and march hand in hand to success.

Another important activity of the League was the creation of the Bharat Youth Training Centre at Kuala Lumpur where almost a thousand civilians are being given advanced training in the military art by the members of the Indian National Army. The existing camp is more on an experimental basis than a regular training camp. It is anticipated that when necessity arises for the training of the mass youth volunteers in East Asia for active service as part and parcel of the Indian National Army, the existing centre at Kuala Lumpur will be greatly extended and a few more centres will be opened to meet the requirements of the Army at convenient locali-

ties. Plans for such establishments are under way and it is expected to start the work in the near future. I hope Indians in East Asia will be ready to come forward as volunteers and will undergo the necessary military training under the capable hands of the members of the Indian National Army to make themselves fit to serve the cause of their country. I want to congratulate the youths now undergoing military training at Kuala Lumpur on their sense of sacrifice, patriotism and their love for their Motherland. I appeal to all able-bodied Indians in East Asia to follow the example of these brave and true nationalists.

You all know that youth is the cream of a nation and as such Indian youth is the cream of Mother India. I am very glad to say that I am greatly moved by their enthusiasm and resolute determination to make any sacrifice demanded of them for the victory of our battle for freedom. Youth has always played a great and noble part in all revolutionary movements. And in the great Indian revolution it is the youth of the country that is playing a most significant role. Youth is impulsive, daring, resourceful, determined and ready for any sacrifice; and it is to the youth of India that Mother India looks for action—decisive action that will break the shackles of British Imperialism.

It is the self-sacrificing courage of India's young freedom fighters that has reduced the British power in India to sheer impotence. And it is the united effort of the youth of India that will bring victory and glory to our Motherland. It was thus imperative to create a Youth Section of the Indian Independence League all over East Asia. This important section is the nucleus of the Indian Independence Movement and is the main reservoir for supply of manpower for India's National Army. They will be the warriors of Indian freedom and in this great battle before us there is no distinction between civilian and military. We are all Indians, we are all freedom fighters and together we shall march to liberate our sacred Motherland.

Azad School has been opened for the training of fifty young Indians and all those who are found fit after an extensive course of two months will be distributed as instructors for the training of the youths of the country. I congratulate all those who have been selected for the training and welcome all others who are prepared to fight in the cause of Indian freedom.

Last but not least I would like to mention the creation of the Indian Independence League. It is highly significant that our sisters are taking keen interest in this movement and are prepared to make any sacrifice side by side with their Indian brothers in the cause of their Motherland. Freedom lies at the feet of a mother. Mother makes heroes. Mothers produce martyrs. It is through the en-

couragement of mothers that the youths of a country make sacrifice. Mothers are the backbone of a country's nationalism. They are the inspiration of the masses and the encouragement of the desperate.

I appeal to you my friends who have come to participate in this Conference, to divorce all party feelings, suspicions and prejudices and make every effort, so that when you conclude your session, you have a most effective and workable plan of action for Indian freedom, so that we can start our work immediately after this Conference and march ahead.

I hope you have realised the shortcomings of the last two Conferences and will keep aside all old and complicated ideas which are nothing more than mere obstacles in the progress of this revolutionary movement and will work out a simple and straightforward plan which will leave no room for future disturbance.

This is a revolution and there is an international conflagration all round us and I know you will all agree there is no time for discussion and argument. So I advise you once again to sit down and create something which will revolutionize the whole Movement. The masses are itching for action but our existing constitution is so cumbersome and impracticable that we cannot move an inch. All plans should be made on the basis of self-sufficiency because this is our Movement and the major part of it should be workable by us.

In the name of four-hundred million starving Indians for whom you have pledged to lay down your life, I appeal to you once again to create the atmosphere of brotherhood, trust each other and have mutual understanding for this common end of ours. Your plan of action should be such that, as far as possible, only full time workers could be permitted to function—people who will be ready to make decisions day and night and from day to day, people who should be ready to serve anywhere and in any capacity, people who will be ready to bear all personal inconveniences of sleeping on the ground, going without food, and travelling on foot or travelling by whatever conveyance may be available.

Every League Branch should be so constructed and organized that every worker from the Chairman downward should, as far as possible, be a full time self-sacrificing person who should be prepared to bear all hardships and should be prepared to work in the firing line when called upon to do so. Every League official should try to undergo a complete course of military training. May God help you in your efforts!

Finally, I thank the Japanese Government on behalf of the Indians in East Asia for extending every facility and co-operation in every part of the occupied territories to my countrymen. But for Japan's whole-hearted support in the cause of Indian Freedom,

it would not have been possible to achieve what has so far been achieved

I also sincerely acknowledge the friendly attitude of all the allied Governments and their people and take this opportunity of thanking them for their co-operation and assistance in the cause of our country's freedom.

Major-General Iwakuro attended the Conference and availed himself of the opportunity to clear the misunderstanding which had caused the deadlock and to explain the Japanese side of the matter. His speech at the open session was as follows:

Because of the situation that has considerably changed since the Bangkok Conference, which was held in June, 2602, and in order to meet the existing circumstances, you have decided to convene a meeting of all the representatives from the various territories in East Asia in order to lay down the guiding principles anew for the Movement, and I certainly consider that the action taken by you is indeed an appropriate one. Let me offer my hearty congratulations and express my most sincere wishes for your success.

The Greater East Asia War has developed and has reached a final and decisive stage and the whole world is absorbed in this desperate struggle. Unless we win this War, that is, the Greater East Asia War, it is more than obvious that all Asiatic peoples, all Asiatic races, cannot be emancipated from the bondage of the Anglo-American tyrants; and if we fail in bringing about freedom of the Asiatic races, I am sure that the independence of India will be doomed to the same fate.

The reasons why Nippon is offering her unstinted support for the Movement are as follows:—

(1) India is one of the fellow nations in Asia; (2). Her struggle to drive out the Anglo-American influence from India falls in line with the aims of our Greater East Asia War, and thus Anglo-Americans are our common enemies in the fullest sense of the expression; and (3). Through cultural relations and Buddhism, we, Nipponese, have had traditional respect and affection for India for more than 2,000 years, and it has indeed been unbearable to us to see the present slavery that India is undergoing under the rule of Great Britain.

Needless to say, His Excellency Premier General Tojo's several declarations have been based on these very sentiments. It, therefore, goes without saying that Nippon has no desire to control India in place of Britain. Nippon has no ulterior motive whatsoever in India, politically, militarily or economically.

Let me recall the events of the past one year. It is regrettable that certain sections of the Indian Community have been responsible

for impairing the harmonious relations that have existed between us and the Indian Community. I cannot help but notice that there is also certain section of the Indian Community who, deliberately, misconstrued our intentions. You will not blame me if I feel that we have been more than insulted. However, I am sure that these people form only a small section of the Indian Community.

Such people's misunderstandings can be attributed to the following reasons:—

1. They know nothing about Nippon and the Nipponese people.

2. They do not possess a correct knowledge of China and Manchukuo.

3. Some people have misunderstood our temporary measures. You know we are fighting an enormous War and we have taken many emergency measures and some people have mistaken such temporary measures to be permanent measures.

4. There are many who are being misled by the enemies' fabricated propaganda.

We have been trying to clear such misunderstandings with the utmost patience. However, we feel that our patience has already been exhausted, and it is high time that we should draw a clear line between those who are anxious to co-operate with us for the achievement of our common goal and those who are disinclined to do so.

There are three categories of people:

1. Those who are anxiously desiring the independence of India and require our assistance believing in our sincerity. They are our friends and fellow workers. To such friends we most certainly will not stint any kind of assistance and support.
2. Those who cannot yet liquidate their pro-British feelings, or those still entertaining doubts about Nippon's sincerity, or those who are not satisfied with the present policy of Nippon. Such people should be considered as elements of more or less of enemy nature and such people should be treated accordingly.
3. Those who are still wavering and playing the game of "Wait and see". In my opinion such people should also be treated in the same manner as those of hostile nature.

I firmly believe that the Indian Independence League and the Indian National Army are organised and managed by only such people as those belonging to the first category. I trust that the League at this Conference consisting of representatives of such people should lay down new guiding principles and so reform the

League as to make it perfectly workable in true co-operation with us which, of course, must be based on mutual trust.

I wish you again every success.

The following resolutions were adopted at the Conference:—

Whereas it is the objective of the War of Greater East Asia to destroy for ever the British and American Imperialism in Asia and thus emancipate the Asiatic people from Anglo-American yoke, and

Whereas it gives an opportunity for India as an Asiatic country to realise the goal of complete independence, and

Whereas the representatives of the Indians in East Asia held Conferences at Tokyo and Bangkok in March and June, 1942, respectively and resolved that the object of the Indian Independence Movement shall be the complete independence of India free from any foreign control or interference of any nature whatsoever, and

Whereas in conformity with such resolution and for the carrying out of that objective a written Constitution of the Indian Independence League was framed as a result of the resolutions passed thereat, and

Whereas the Indian Independence Movement has been organised all over East Asia in accordance with the resolutions passed at the above said Conference, and

Whereas now the British Government in India has rejected the "Quit India" demand of the Indian Nation and has thrown Mahatma Gandhi and other revered leaders of India into prison and is pursuing an inhuman policy of mass murders and wholesale arrests throughout India and is perpetrating such atrocities as the bombing and machine-gunning of innocent and defenceless population of India, and

Whereas the Anglo-American forces in India are deliberately using India as a base of operations in their war to perpetrate the Anglo-American exploitation of Asiatic nations, and

Whereas this conference of Indians in East Asia records its profound conviction that a state of emergency exists and that therefore nothing short of direct and immediate action against the Anglo-American forces in India would help the Indian Nation to achieve its goal of complete independence of India.

This Conference, therefore, to meet the existing circumstances and in conformity with the wishes of the Indians in East Asia, passes the following resolutions to take the place of Bangkok Resolutions of 1942.

1. That this Conference re-affirms that the complete independence of India free from any foreign control or interference of any nature whatsoever is the object of this Independence Movement

as it is that of the Indian National Congress, and resolves that the Indian Independence Movement shall be guided by the principles indicated below:

(a) That Unity, Faith, Sacrifice shall be the motto of the Indian Independence Movement.

(b) The Movement should be carried out in a revolutionary manner including military action.

(c) That India be considered as one and indivisible.

(d) That all activities of this Movement be on a National basis and not sectional, communal or religious basis.

(e) That the framing of the future constitution of India be done only by the representatives of the Indians in India.

(f) That the sympathy, co-operation and support of Japan is essential for securing the object of this Movement, namely the independence of India.

2. That the Indian Independence League owes allegiance to India.

3. That the Indian National Army is the army of the Indian Independence League and all Officers and men of the Indian National Army as well as all members of the Indian Independence League shall owe allegiance to the League.

4. That this conference reiterates the true significance of the National Flag of India, the correct interpretation of the elements of the flag being as follows: Saffron—Courage and sacrifice; white—Peace and Truth; green—Faith and Chivalry; charka—Hope of the masses.

5. That for the purpose of financing the Indian Independence Movement the President, Indian Independence League, East Asia, be authorised to raise funds from Indians in East Asia.

6. That the entire Indian Independence Movement be placed on a war footing immediately and that the Constitution of the Indian Independence League be so altered as to enable it to discharge its vital War duties with the utmost speed and efficiency, and

7. That this Conference resolves that the written Constitution of the Indian Independence League passed at a Conference in Bangkok of Indians in East Asia in June 1942, be amended and altered and that the written Constitution approved and passed herein be adopted in its place.

8. That this Conference pays its humble homage to the countless Indian patriots who have laid down their lives in India's war of independence in and out of India and expresses its deep admiration for the heroic fight now being waged by the Indians against the Anglo-American armies of occupation in India at present.

9. That this Conference expresses its sincere gratification at the war policy of Nippon and conveys to the Imperial Government best wishes for the continued successes of the Imperial Japanese armed forces, and records its grateful appreciation of the various declarations and pronouncements made by His Excellency General Hideki Tojo, the Premier of Nippon, expressing preparedness of the Imperial Nipponese Government to give its unstinted support to the cause of complete independence and full sovereignty of India.

10. Further, this Conference places on record its deepest appreciation of and grateful thanks for the co-operation, assistance and support extended to this Movement and its objective by the Imperial Government of Nippon.

11. That this Conference conveys to all the powers fighting against Britain and America its sincere congratulations and prays that their efforts may meet with complete success.

12. That this Conference gratefully acknowledges the sincere and friendly attitude the Governments and peoples of Germany, Italy, Thailand, China, Manchukuo and other friendly powers have adopted towards our struggle for freedom and places on record its deep appreciation and thanks for the offer of assistance and co-operation extended by them to this Movement.

13. This Conference offers hearty congratulations to the Burmese nation to whom the Imperial Government of Nippon has promised to grant independence within this year.

The following Constitution was adopted at the Conference, incorporating the various amendments and alterations made in the Constitution passed at the Bangkok Conference:

1. This Act may be cited as the Constitution of Indian Independence League in East Asia.

2. In this Act:

"President" shall mean the present President of the Indian Independence League in East Asia, Sjt. Rash Behari Bose or his successors.

"Chief Executive" shall mean the President.

"Headquarters" shall mean the Office of the President.

"Territories" shall include: Japan and Manchukuo, Philippines, Thailand, Malai, Burma, Borneo and Celebes, Hongkong, Canton and Macao, Other parts of China including Shanghai, Indo-China, Djawa, Sumatra, and the Andamans.

3. The Indian Independence League shall consist of:— (a) A Chief Executive (President), (b) Local Branches, (c) Territorial Committees, (d) War Council, (e) Council of Action.

4. Chief Executive (President).

(a) The President shall be the Head of the Indian Independence League in East Asia and shall have powers to nominate his own successor. The successor or successors of the person nominated by the President shall be elected by the Council of Action and the War Council in a joint session.

(b) The President will formulate ways and means for the effective carrying out of the policy laid down at this Conference, and shall deal with all new matters that may arise from time to time and which may not be provided for by this Conference, and his decision shall in every case be final and binding on each and every member of this Indian Independence Movement.

(c) For the proper and efficient carrying out of the work, the President shall have power to create as many departments as are necessary and expedient and to appoint and dismiss Administrative Officers and staff whenever he deems fit so to do.

(d) The President shall have power to alter, amend or rescind any previous decision made by him, including any decision arrived at in this Conference.

(e) The President shall have general superintendence and control over all Branches of the Indian Independence League in all territories and over the Indian National Army.

(f) The President shall decide the military policy in consultation with the War Council.

5. Local Branches.

(a) Local Branches of the Indian Independence League may be formed at a public meeting of Indians in any locality who shall elect a Committee. The Committee shall elect a Chairman from among the Committee Members subject to the approval of the President.

(b) Vacancy or vacancies on such Committee or in the Office of the Chairman shall be filled up by the Territorial Chairman with the approval of the President.

(c) All Indians above the age of 18 shall be entitled to be members of such Branch on compliance with the Rules framed from time to time by the Committee subject to the approval of the President.

(d) No such Branch shall be recognised as a Branch unless the President accords and continues to accord to such Branch due recognition; provided, however, that all Branches of the Indian Independence League now in existence and recognised in the various territories in East Asia shall

until otherwise decided upon by the President, be recognised by the Indian Independence Movement.

6. Territorial Committees.

(a) Representatives elected by the Committees of the Local Branches in each territory shall form a Territorial Committee for the effective working of the Movement within the territory, subject to the approval of the President. The Territorial Committee shall elect the Chairman from among the Committee Members subject to the approval of the President.

(b) The Territorial Committee in each territory shall supervise and control the work of the Movement within its territory through its Chairman, subject to the approval of the President.

7. War Council.
War Council will consist of the President, Director of Military Bureau, the Army Commander whenever available, and one or more advisers nominated by the President as the exigencies of the situation may require.

8. Council of Action.
The President will nominate two or more members, who with the President will constitute a Council of Action. The Members of the Council of Action so nominated by the President will function only in an advisory capacity and will give advice as and when required by the President.

9. Headquarters.
The Headquarters of the Movement shall be at any such place as may be decided upon by the President from time to time.

CHAPTER—XV

SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE TAKES THE LEAD

In the middle of June, 1943, the air became surcharged with emotion when the thrilling news came from Tokyo that Subhas Chandra Bose, who mysteriously disappeared from his home at Calcutta in January, 1941, had arrived in Tokyo from Berlin. It was reported that he had called on Premier Tojo on June 14 and received the latter's assurance of Japan's friendship and support for the freedom struggle which he was called upon to lead.

A few days after his arrival in Tokyo Sri Subhas Chandra Bose broadcast the following address to his countrymen in East Asia:

While I am in Tokyo I desire to address a few words to you, and I have no doubt that you will give them due consideration. In the first place I desire to thank you most heartily for the warm and enthusiastic welcome that you have given me on the occasion of my public appearance in East Asia, and for the assurance you have given me of your wholehearted support to our effort to liberate our dear Motherland. I feel overwhelmed at this manifestation of your burning patriotism and spirit of sacrifice. I have received numerous telegraphic, telephonic and postal messages from you direct, while other messages I have read in the press and all these messages have given me great joy and satisfaction.

You know that I have always been an optimist. Nevertheless, I must say that the response that I have received has exceeded my fondest expectation. I can only say in reply that I am proud of you. Since the outbreak of the war in Europe and East Asia I have been saying repeatedly that we Indian people could not have wished or even dreamt of a better combination of circumstances for helping us achieve our liberty. When world forces are helping us in this way, our task automatically becomes very much easier than what it would have been otherwise. This fact should further strengthen our self-confidence and optimism and hearten us considerably in the fight that lies ahead of us. I am overjoyed to see that you have already realised the responsibility of winning freedom lies at home. It is but natural that they should bear the brunt of the burden and they have been doing so already. But, at the same time, every Indian—no matter where he is living at the present time—has a duty towards his country and he must contribute his due share towards final victory.

I am convinced that India cannot hope to be free until Indians living abroad perform their duty in this momentous world crisis. Owing to the fact that the Tripartite Powers have been giving their fullest support to Indian independence, it is comparatively easy for Indians living in an Axis country or in countries controlled by the Axis powers to play their part in the national struggle. Consequently, among Indians who are now abroad, I expect Indians living in Axis countries or in countries controlled by the Axis powers will render maximum service to the Motherland. Here in East Asia you have seen yourself how deep is the interest in, and sympathy for, Indian independence. The readiness of the Imperial Nippon Government and nation to render any assistance in our national struggle we may need has lightened our task to a considerable degree. Consequently, there can be no possible excuse why any Indian in East Asia should not put his whole might in the present struggle.

But though the Axis powers in general, and Nippon in particular, are prepared to help us at any time and have been actually doing so already, the task of liberating India is ours, and ours alone. That responsibility we shall not cast on anybody else because that would be against our national honour. Moreover, we have no right to ask for or expect help from any quarter until we ourselves have first of all done our very utmost. Our sisters and brothers at home have been doing their very best in the circumstances in which they have been placed. But the enemy is ruthless and desperate and he is armed to the teeth. Against such a brutal foe, no amount of civil disobedience, or sabotage, or revolutionary terrorism can be of any avail. If, therefore, we want to expel British power from India, we have to fight the enemy with his own weapons. The enemy has already drawn the sword—he must therefore be fought with the sword.

But it is not possible for our countrymen at home to organize an armed revolution and to fight the British army of occupation with modern arms. This task must therefore devolve on Indians living abroad—and particularly on Indians living in East Asia. Friends! If you compare the history of our national struggle with the histories and struggles in other parts of the world, you will realize we in India have up till now lacked one thing and one thing alone. We lack an organization whereby we can meet force with force. It is our task to supply this one want and thereby eliminate once and for all the only drawback in our national struggle. I therefore desire that all ablebodied Indians living in East Asia should volunteer to fight with me for the liberation of our Motherland.

This is our supreme task and duty, before which no other type of service counts for much. All those countrymen of mine who are prepared to fight for the liberation of India will please get in touch with me at once, directly or through their local organizations. I am confident that with the help of my countrymen in East Asia, I shall be able to organize such a gigantic force as will be able to sweep away British power from India, in conjunction with those who have been already fighting at home. The hour has struck, and every patriotic Indian must advance towards the field of battle. When the blood of freedom-loving Indians begins to flow, India will attain her freedom.

On July 2 Sri Subhas Chandra Bose stepped off a plane from Tokyo at the airport at Syonan and was accorded a royal welcome by the leaders of the movement and the representatives of the Indian National Army. A guard of honour composed of the members of the I.N.A. was drawn up on the courtyard. He was overcome with

emotion when he saw with his own eyes the India's Army of Liberation. "The only thing that we have been lacking so far in our fight for independence is an armed force to fight against the British. You, patriotic warriors, have come forward and provided that armed force," he said, addressing the guard of honour. "Let us all march forward together, ready to lay down our lives and thus win the freedom of our Motherland." The men of the I.N.A., in reply, gave him three resounding cheers.

Remarkable scenes of patriotic fervour and enthusiasm were witnessed at the meeting of the Committee of Representatives of the Indian Independence League in East Asia held in Syonan on July 4, when Sri Subhas Chandra Bose assumed office as President of the League in East Asia. From early morning large crowds thronged all approaches to the Cathay Cinema, not minding the steady drizzle, to catch a glimpse of their leader. Subhas Bose, on arrival at the Cinema accompanied by Rash Behari Bose, was greeted with thunderous ovation from the crowds. The Hinomaru (Rising Sun flag) and the Indian National tri-colour flag adorned the dais. On Subhas Bose's entry into the meeting hall, the whole assembly rose up and greeted him with cheers. From all parts of the hall cries of "Subhas Bose Ki Jai," "Rash Behari Bose Ki Jai," "Mahatma Gandhi Ki Jai," "Moulana Abul Kalam Azad Ki Jai," and "Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru Ki Jai" rent the air.

The proceedings commenced with the garlanding of the two leaders by girl students of the Ramakrishna Mission. Miss S. N. Saraswathi delighted the gathering with the singing of Indian national songs. The following message of congratulation from Premier Tojo was read:

On the occasion of welcoming the great leader Sjt. Subhas Chandra Bose, the Indian Independence League in East Asia holds a meeting of the Committee of Representatives of Indians in East Asia at Syonan, which has been liberated from British bondage; with this welcome to Subhas Bose, you are taking a long stride towards decisive action with renewed and grim determination to achieve India's independence.

On this occasion, I extend my most sincere congratulations because it is a happy augury not only for India but for all East Asia also. Since the outbreak of the Greater East Asia War, the Imperial Japanese forces have annihilated the enemy wherever he was found, and, within a very short time, battered all the Anglo-American strategical points in this part of Asia. At the same time, the bonds of unity among Japan, Manchukuo, China and Thailand have been strengthened, and they are irresistibly advancing towards the goal of the establishment of the sphere of co-prosperity in East

Asia. With unshakable faith in ultimate victory and the triumph of justice for which Japan is fighting the accumulated wrongs and misdeeds of the British are going to be wiped out. Thus the brilliant dawn of Greater East Asia has arrived. This is the golden opportunity for India to liberate herself and such a rare opportunity will never occur again.

With the outbreak of the Greater East Asia War, Indian nationalists in India rose against their British rulers, and India has thus already attained spiritual independence. The British Empire, which is gasping for a last breath, will, in desperation, choose any means to put off the day of their impending doom, and America is also stretching its devilish hands towards India. In a situation like this, it is by no means an easy task for Indians to achieve India's complete independence; but four hundred million Indians should unite into one solid body and win their own freedom and independence with their own blood and toil.

The sincere wish of Japan for the fulfilment of India's long cherished ambition of "India for Indians," has been proved beyond doubt by the repeated declarations of the Government of Nippon. Nippon is inflexibly determined to exhaust all her means to help India in achieving her independence which is the earnest desire of Indians. It is Japan's sincere wish that the active movement for the achievement of India's independence must be intensified both inside and outside India, and the Anglo-American forces must be driven out of every corner of India as early as possible. The world situation is becoming more complicated, and, taking advantage of this, the Anglo-American enemies will no doubt intensify their intrigues. Traditionally Nippon is a country which invariably keeps faith where friends trust each other, and so is India.

I sincerely wish that Indians will not be deceived by Anglo-American intrigues and miss the God-sent opportunity to win their freedom. I trust that Indians, with firm faith in the victory of Japan, Germany and Italy, will fight for justice and righteousness shoulder to shoulder with us. I firmly believe that this is the only way that Indians can hasten the glorious day of their freedom, and I sincerely wish them every success in their brave fight.

Amidst wild cheers of enthusiasm Sri Rash Behari Bose, the Father of the Indian Independence Movement in East Asia, rose to deliver his presidential address. He said:

It is indeed a great pleasure, for myself and to you all, that we meet to-day, so soon after our last conference in Syonan. But, events are marching fast these days and our Movement for the sacred cause of Mother India has made enormous strides in the two months

since our conference at the end of April, 1943. To-day, we are on the eve of the most vital, the most decisive, phase of our fight for the freedom of our Motherland. And I am confident that we are on the threshold of victory.

It is now one and a half years since the Indian Independence Movement was organised in East Asia. For all practical purposes, that historic day, December 8, 1941, when Japan unsheathed the sword of righteousness to destroy the Anglo-American imperialism and to liberate the Asiatic nations from bondage, that historic day marked the inception of the Indian Independence Movement in its present form. You do not expect me, on this occasion, to review the progress of our Movement, to enumerate our efforts, our successes and our failures. You know, we started from scratch, with nothing but our indomitable spirit of service to our Motherland. But soon we found sincere friends and powerful allies and our Movement gathered strength, thanks to your efforts and co-operation, thanks to the patriotic fervour of Indians throughout East Asia. And our most sincere gratitude is due to our Japanese friends, the Government of Japan, the local Military Authorities in every part of East Asia and to the Japanese nation in general.

As you all know very well, we have had our share of trials and tribulations, some trivial, others serious. But thanks to your grim resolve in the battle for India's freedom and to your patience and devotion to duty, our Movement survived all obstacles in its way and emerged with increased strength and solidarity. To-day, the Indian Independence League is an All East Asia Organization which is almost on a war footing. The League's Branches throughout East Asia are functioning smoothly and every Branch is contributing its share to the success of the great events now ahead of us. Friends, I want to thank you from the very bottom of my heart for all the support, assistance, and co-operation extended to me by you and your colleagues, as well as by my compatriots throughout East Asia, in the fulfilment of the duties and responsibilities you have entrusted to me.

Friends, I told you that we are now on the eve of a new phase of our fight for India's independence. For decades, India has been struggling against British domination and exploitation. Thousands of Indian patriots have laid down their lives in the cause of India's freedom; and even at this very moment, all India is at war with Britain. As Mahatma Gandhi, our revered leader, has stressed, "This is a fight to the finish." And, with the help of Almighty God, the fight will be finished with the glorious victory of India and the ignominious defeat of India's enemies, the Anglo-Americans.

Friends! A casual glance at world events to-day will show you what I mean. Within India, the Anti-British revolution has been going on for nearly eleven months. The British boasted that they would crush the revolution in no time; but they have failed and failed miserably in spite of all the ruthless terror and repression they unleashed on India's freedom fighters. Beyond the frontiers of India, we Indians in East Asia are girding for battle to supplement the efforts of Indian Nationalists at home. And in support of us, for the assistance of India, we have powerful allies, the Japanese. It was only the other day, while I was at Tokyo that Prime Minister General Hideki Tojo re-affirmed Japan's pledge of all-out aid to India in the fight against the Anglo-American forces. And you will remember that Premier Tojo also made the categorical declaration that it is Japan's policy to assist India to attain full independence in the true sense of the term.

Friends and Comrades-in-Arms! Now you see why I am confident that India's victory is a certainty. As I have told you very often, the odds are in our favour—I mean in India's favour—and against our enemies, the Anglo-American enemies of India. This is our God-sent opportunity—an opportunity that we must take advantage of. For decades, India fought Britain single-handed, but to-day, India has powerful allies. Japan and her Axis partners in Europe are India's friends and allies. India is with them in this war. The victory of the Axis Powers means the freedom of India; the victory of the Anglo-Americans means the slavery of India for hundreds of years to come. Therefore, as Indians, our duty is clear. For the sake of India's freedom, for the sake of justice and decency in this world, for the sake of a better order of human life and intercourse, we Indians must work and fight for the victory of Japan and the Axis powers. For as I have just said, the victory of Japan and the Axis Powers means the victory of India, the freedom of four hundred million Indians, the glory of Asia and a new order in this world.

Friends! When I left Syonan for Tokyo towards the end of May, I told you I would be back in about six weeks. And I am here now. I want to thank the Administrative Committee of the Headquarters for the most efficient manner in which they carried on the work during my absence and I want to thank you all for the warm reception you accorded me on my return.

To-day we meet here just two days after my return from Tokyo and naturally you would expect me to say something of what I saw and heard in Japan. Well, I was impressed by many things that I saw and heard during my brief sojourn in Japan. I was greatly impressed by the great sympathy for India's cause, on the

part of the entire Japanese nation, from His Excellency the Premier down to the man in the street. The freedom of India is stressed on all sides and the entire Japanese nation is prepared to go all out in helping India expel the Anglo-American enemies and to win the national independence. And you know for yourselves that Japan is fully confident of her ability to help us crush the Anglo-Americans in India. And as for the sincerity of Japan's policy, we have before us the historic example of Burma which will be independent very soon, and that of the Philippines which wil emerge as a free country within the course of this year, 2603 (1943).

Friends! This is India's golden opportunity—an opportunity the like of which may never again occur. We take this opportunity and we save our Motherland, we save the four hundred millions of our compatriots from an alien tyranny that has been crushing them body and soul for over two hundred years. On the other hand, we miss this opportunity; and we betray our Motherland; we condemn our four hundred million brethren and the future generations of India, to slavery for ever. Now or never is our opportunity; now or never is India's chance for freedom.

Friends and Comrades-in-Arms! You might probably expect me to say something more of what I saw in Japan. Well, I saw in Japan a great and powerful nation in its grim resolve for victory. And remember what I told you just a little while ago; Japan's victory means India's freedom, India's victory and glory.

In Nippon I saw mighty forces at work, forging weapons of war, and assuring the victory of the Asiatic cause. The unity and determination of the people of Japan are marvellous; their war efforts, at their zenith. Factories work day and night, turning out warplanes, tanks, arms and ammunition. The huge factories and workshops which once carried on peace-time manufacture, are armament factories now, which means the entire industry of Japan is a war industry. The entire labour of the Japanese nation is now war labour. New docks and shipyards in various parts of Japan turn out warships and merchant vessels to further strengthen Japan's invincible navy and intrepid merchant marine. Training of soldiers, officers and air-men goes on throughout the country and millions of young men are joining the armed forces. And as for the food situation in Japan I got exactly the same food that I got last year. There is plenty of rice, fish, meat and vegetables; one and a half years of war has not in the least affected Japan's food situation, thanks to the excellent planning and control by the Government. In one word, I found Japan united as one man, with no thought but of war and victory—the victory of the holy war

of liberation, the victory that would mean freedom and prosperity for India and all Asia.

Friends and Comrades-in-Arms! You might now ask me what I did in Tokyo for our cause, what present I have brought for you. Well, I have brought for you this present (turning to Subhas). Srijut Subhas Chandra Bose needs no introduction to you, to India or to the world. He symbolises all that is best, noblest, the most daring and the most dynamic in the youth of India. As an all-India Leader in the fight against British Imperialism, he stands in a class by himself. He is a brilliant leader and an uncompromising fighter. He has dedicated his life to the cause of Mother India and he richly deserves the name of "Deshsevak Subhas". Eleven times he has been in British political prisons but all that suffering and sacrifice have only strengthened his dynamic will to wage the battle for freedom until victory is achieved.

Friends. This is one of the happiest moments in my life. I have brought to you one of the most outstanding personalities of our sacred Motherland to participate in our campaign for the freedom of India. The spontaneous and enthusiastic welcome which the two million Indians in East Asia have extended to Subhas is an unqualified assurance to him—and to me and to India—that Indians in East Asia have wholeheartedly placed themselves, and all they have, at his command.

Friends and Comrades-in-Arms! In your presence to-day I resign my office and appoint Deshsevak Subhas Chandra Bose as President of the Indian Independence League in East Asia. From now on, Subhas Chandra Bose is your President, your leader in the fight for India's independence. And I am confident that, under his leadership, you will march on to battle and to victory. And, of course, I will be always by your side sharing the glory and sufferings of the battle, and sharing the joy of victory as well.

You know I have dedicated my life, in my own humble way, to the cause of our sacred Motherland. That is my life mission. And as long as there is breath in my body, I shall be the soldier that I have always been—the soldier in the battle for Mother India's freedom. And, of course, I shall not spare myself in giving him all that I can give him—wholehearted co-operation, assistance and advice in the battle that is now ahead of us.

Friends and Comrades-in-Arms! The greatest moment in our lives has come. We are on the eve of the most decisive phase of our campaign; happy and auspicious way in which events are taking shape. So, my friends, have faith in God, have faith in yourselves, have faith in our friends and allies, have faith in their

victory which is India's victory as well, and be ready to plunge yourself into the battle—the battle that will lead our sacred Motherland to freedom, victory and glory.

Inquilab Zindabad! Azad Hindustan!

Deafening cheers filled the air as Rash Behari Bose announced the appointment of "Deshsevak" Subhas Chandra Bose as President of the Indian Independence League in East Asia. Sri Rash Behari Bose's address was translated into Tamil by Lt.-Col. S. A. Alagappan.

In a stirring address welcoming Srijut Subhas Chandra Bose, Sri J. A. Thivy, Chairman of the Malaya Branch of the Indian Independence League, reaffirmed the pledge of all Indians in Malaya to serve India and the Indian Independence Movement to their fullest capacity, even at the risk of their lives. He said: "We will by our action show our implicit faith and trust in you as our Leader".

Lt. Col. J. K. Bhonsle, Director, Military Bureau, made a speech in Hindustani welcoming the new President, on behalf of the Army. He said:

"To us you are a new hope, your arrival has instilled a new spirit among our soldiers. So far, we had an ideal and a cause to fight for, now we have a leader who will inspire and guide us successfully to the achievement of our goal.

"We are ready and pledged to our Motherland. We only await your orders. You are our leader; we have placed our destinies and the destiny of India in your hands. When you think the opportune time to strike has come, on your orders we shall march forward.

"Ours shall be a grim but a glorious fight. I am sure—nay certain—our soldiers will give a good account of themselves. We will meet the enemy in the field and destroy him there and rid the sacred Bharat Mata from the evil influences of Anglo-American Imperialism for ever."

Before he commenced his address, Sjt. Subhas Chandra Bose paid a well-deserved tribute to the retiring President in Hindustani which was translated into Tamil. It was indeed a touching scene. Subhas Bose said:—

"During and before the last Great War, people in India knew him (the retiring President) very well, but the present generation may have forgotten him. His marvellous services at the risk of his life during the last war for the liberation of India are not only fresh in our memories but are also in the records of the British Imperialists."

Subhas Bose asked the retiring President to continue his activities in the League as the President's Supreme Adviser and to guide him in leading this Movement.

Subhas Bose then delivered the following address:

Mr. Rash Behari Bose and representatives of the Indian Independence Movement in East Asia!

I thank you from the bottom of my heart for the honour you have done me, by appointing me to the leadership of the Indian Independence Movement in East Asia. I accept this responsibility, but I do so with a feeling of extreme humility and I pray that God may grant me strength to fulfil my duty, to the entire satisfaction of my countrymen at home and abroad.

If you were to hear my experiences—at home and abroad—since the outbreak of the present war, you would feel, as I do, that the hand of Providence has been protecting us from harm and has been guiding our efforts along the path leading to victory and freedom. This has increased my optimism and self-confidence a hundredfold.

Friends, the time has now come for freedom-loving Indians to act. Action in a war-crisis demands, above all, military discipline, as well as unflinching loyalty to the cause. I, therefore, call upon you, all my countrymen in East Asia, to line up in one solid phalanx under one leadership and prepare for the grim fight that is ahead of us. I am confident that they will do so.

I am glad to tell you that the momentous step taken to-day serves to unite in a common bond, not only the patriotic Indians in East Asia, but patriotic Indians all over the world as well. I have to-day the confidence and support of all freedom-loving Indians abroad, who are actively working for the emancipation of our Motherland. Even Indians now living in enemy countries, where they are unable to work actively for India's freedom, are morally with us in the work that we are doing. Within my knowledge, this is the first time in recent history that Indians living abroad have been united in one organisation, for the attainment of one common goal.

What is perhaps even more remarkable is that patriotic Indians abroad are working in complete harmony with their countrymen at home. I have publicly declared several times that, when I left home and Homeland in 1941, on an important mission, it was in accordance with the will of the vast majority of my countrymen. Since then, despite all the restrictions imposed by the C.I.D.—that is, the Secret Service—I have remained in constant touch with my countrymen at home. To-day, I can go so far as to inform you that during the last twelve months, a large number of our representatives have been sent to India from outside, from all directions. Some of them have been captured and shot—for which we shall, in due time, exact full revenge. But many more have been able to evade arrest and, according to latest reports, they are working satisfactorily. Thus,

patriotic Indians abroad have been working as genuine trustees of the freedom-fighters at home. I can assure everybody once again that whatever we have done up till now, or may do in future, has been, and will be, for the freedom of India and we shall never do anything that is either against the interest of India or will not be in accordance with the will of our people.

I shall now deal with the question as to how we can win our liberty. Some of my friends at home had hoped, at one time, that at the pressure of an international crisis, the British Government would, in its own interest, accede to India's demand for independence. These friends must have been disillusioned by now, because it is transparently clear that both during and after the War the British Government intends to exploit India more ruthlessly than ever before. That is why Field Marshal Lord Wavell is being sent as Viceroy and Governor-General. I have noticed that certain circles at home are extremely dissatisfied over this appointment and they would have probably preferred a man like Lord Halifax as Viceroy, but I do not share their view. For me, the appointment of Field Marshal Lord Wavell as Viceroy is a prophetic event—a writing on the wall. This ever-retreating Commander-in-Chief is destined to be the last Viceroy of India. Moreover, the military, political and economic exploitation of India which he is bound to intensify, will further embitter the Indian masses and thereby strengthen the gathering forces of revolution.

But though India is in for a period of military dictatorship under the new Viceroy, I anticipate, nevertheless, that in future another attempt at a compromise with India will be made. This attempt will be nothing more than a bluff or a hoax—and our countrymen at home should be prepared in advance to see through it—as they did, when Sir Stafford Cripps offered empty promises to India in April, 1942. Mr. Winston Churchill, the supreme representative of the British people, recently gave an indication of his mentality when he told the Lord Mayor of London that he did not like even the expression "British Commonwealth", preferring the expression "British Empire" instead. The last Imperialist Prime Minister of England will, no doubt, do his very best to preserve that Empire and any offer that he will make to the Indian people will be only for the purpose of deceiving them. But there is no sense in even thinking of a compromise with an Empire that will soon disappear from the face of the earth.

Those of you who have studied the history of freedom-movements in other lands—as I have done—must have observed that for the achievement of independence, two conditions are essential—firstly, a favourable international situation and, secondly, necessary sacrifice

and effort. The first condition has been already fulfilled. If India had to fight single-handed with the British Empire, our task would have been exceedingly difficult. The Tripartite Powers are determined to carry on the war, until Anglo-American Imperialism is overthrown.

Friends! For more than two years I have been constantly travelling with a view to studying the war-situation at first-hand. From this study, I am convinced that, however long this war may last, there can be but one outcome—namely, the complete victory of the Tripartite Powers and their allies. I am not blind to the many difficulties that have to be overcome before Anglo-American Imperialism could be defeated. I am also aware that in a long war, temporary ups and downs are unavoidable and that, at the present moment, the Anglo-American Powers are enjoying a temporary advantage in certain unimportant theatres of war. But the general war-situation—and the strategic position in particular—remains greatly advantageous to the Tripartite Powers, and you will see that, as the days roll by, the Anglo-American Powers will have to suffer one defeat after another.

The British Empire, in spite of all its power and might, has been seeking and obtaining help from every possible quarter. It is therefore but natural that we, too, should look out for sympathy and assistance, wherever it is available. Moreover, every freedom-movement in history has had to seek some help or other from abroad, before it could achieve success. The logic of events, in the present case, has made the Tripartite Powers our natural allies and there is nothing wrong if we accept their sympathy, or even their help, should we need it.

I know that some of my countrymen, who are under the influence of British propaganda, doubt the sincerity of the Tripartite Powers in their attitude towards India. But common-sense should tell them that it is the most natural thing for the enemies of British Imperialism to support India's demand for liberty. Moreover, with the exception of England a free India will be an advantage to the whole world, including the Tripartite Powers.

Japan's attitude towards Burma and the Philippines will be the most convincing proof of her sincerity and good faith. But apart from this, as a normal human being, I see no reason why I should have any doubt or mistrust with regard to Japan's intentions. Japan was the first Asiatic Power to successfully resist foreign aggression—and Japan knows, more than any other Asiatic power, that, so long as the enslaved Asiatic nations are not emancipated, no Asiatic nation can feel completely safe from the menace of aggression. Moreover, there is in Japan, to-day, what one might call an Asiatic

consciousness, which manifests itself in a desire to help other Asiatic nations to achieve their liberation. This is a unique development which affords a golden opportunity to all enslaved nations in Asia to emancipate themselves and set up a new order based on freedom, justice and morality.

If anybody has still any doubt in his mind on this point, I should ask him to place his trust in me. My loyalty is to India and to India alone and not even our enemies will have the audacity to urge that I am capable of betraying my country. And as I said in Tokyo the other day, if the British Government could not demoralise me after persecuting me all my life, nobody else can do so. And if cunning British politicians could neither cajole nor deceive me, no one else can hope to do so.

Every Indian should realise that the victory of the Anglo-American Powers will mean for India continued enslavement and more ruthless exploitation. Our only hope of freedom is therefore in a Tripartite victory. But we should so conduct our own struggle that an Axis victory may simultaneously bring us our liberty.

Friends! We have now the most favourable international situation and the most happy combination of circumstances. Consequently, all that is needed for winning freedom is sufficient effort and sacrifice. Our record in this connection is by no means unsatisfactory. You may remember that in May last year after the departure of Sir Stafford Cripps from India and exactly 85 years after the outbreak of our first war of independence, I declared that our national struggle was entering upon a most significant phase. Since then, we have passed many a milestone on our onward march—the most important of these being the intensification of the Civil Disobedience Movement and the commencement of sabotage activities after the arrest of Mahatma Gandhi in August last. In the history of India's struggle, August 1942 will, therefore, remain an unforgettable landmark, indicating the psychological transition from passive to active resistance. Not content with a civil disobedience campaign, the Indian people are now morally prepared to employ other means for achieving their liberation.

The time has, therefore, come to pass on to the next stage of our campaign. All organisations, whether inside or outside, must now transform themselves into a disciplined fighting organisation under one leadership. The aim and purpose of this organisation should be to take up arms against British Imperialism, when the time is ripe and the signal is given. In order to mobilise all our forces effectively, I intend organising a Provisional Government of Free India. It will be the task of this Provisional Government to lead the Indian Revolution to a successful conclusion. To this end,

the Provisional Government will have to prepare the Indian people—inside and outside India—for an armed struggle which will be the culmination of all our national efforts since 1883. When the revolution succeeds and Anglo-American Imperialism is expelled from India, the task of the Provisional Government will be over. It will then make room for a permanent Government to be set up inside India, in accordance with the will of the Indian people.

When all our preparations for the last struggle are complete, it will be possible to bring the Indian struggle into line with the common struggle of the Tripartite Powers against the common foe. By participating in this common fight, we shall be qualifying for our freedom. By shedding our blood in a sacred cause, we shall be paying the price of liberty and, at the same time, we shall be laying the only enduring foundation for our national unity. And last but not least, by winning freedom through our own efforts and sacrifice we shall be acquiring the strength whereby we shall preserve our liberty for all time.

Friends! In conclusion, I thank you once again from the bottom of my heart for the confidence you have reposed in me and for the assurance of unflinching support that you have given me. I warn you that, though we are absolutely sure of our final victory, we can never afford to under-estimate the enemy and we should even be prepared for temporary setbacks. We have a grim fight ahead of us—for the enemy is at once powerful, unscrupulous and ruthless. In this final march to freedom you will have to face hunger, thirst, privation, forced marches and death. Only when you pass this test, will freedom be yours. I am confident that you will do so and thereby bring freedom and prosperity to your enslaved and impoverished land.

Inquilab Zindabad! Azad Hind Zindabad!

CHAPTER—XVI

SUBHAS BOSE AS SUPREME COMMANDER

As the President of the Indian Independence League in East Asia Srijut Subhas Chandra Bose took the salute at a parade of the Indian National Army on the ground opposite the Singapore Municipal Offices on July 5. Representative detachments of the Army took up their positions an hour before the parade began. Looking smart in his khaki military uniform, Srijut Subhas Chandra Bose, accompanied by an I.N.A. bodyguard, arrived at the parade punctually at 10.30 a.m., when the troops presented arms and the bugle sounded. The President then ascended the dais and from there

surveyed the serried ranks of the warriors who had sworn to sacrifice their lives in the fight for India's freedom.

Led by the Chiefs of the Indian National Army and accompanied by Srijut Rash Behari Bose, his Supreme Adviser, Srijut Subhas Chandra Bose went round inspecting the Army. The President then returned to the rostrum and delivered a stirring message to the officers and men of the Army. Thunderous shouts of "Inqilab Zindabad", "Mahatma Gandhi ki Jai" and "Subhas Chandra Bose ki Jai" punctuated his address. The President said:

Soldiers of India's Army of Liberation,

To-day is the proudest day of my life. To-day it has pleased Providence to give me the unique privilege and honour of announcing to the whole world that India's Army of Liberation has come into being. This Army has now been drawn up in military formation on the battlefield of Singapore, which was once the bulwark of the British Empire. This is not only the Army that will emancipate India from the British yoke, it is also the Army that will, hereafter, create the future national army of Free India. Every Indian must feel proud that this Army—his own Army—has been organised entirely under Indian leadership and that when the historic moment arrives, under Indian leadership it will go to battle.

There are people who thought at one time that the Empire, on which the sun did not set, was an everlasting Empire. No such thought ever troubled me. History has taught me that every empire has its inevitable decline and collapse. Moreover, I had seen with my own eyes, cities and fortresses that were once the bulwarks, but which became the graveyards of by-gone Empires. But standing to-day on the graveyard of the British Empire, even a child is convinced that the almighty British Empire is already a thing of the past.

When France declared war on Germany in 1939 and the campaign began, there was but one cry which rose from the lips of German soldiers "To Paris, to Paris." When the brave soldiers of Nippon set out on their march in December, 1941, there was but one cry which rose from their lips "To Singapore, to Singapore." Comrades! My soldiers! Let your battle cry be "To Delhi, to Delhi." How many of us will individually survive this war of Freedom, I do not know. But I do know this that we shall ultimately win and our task will not end until our surviving heroes hold the victory-parade on another graveyard of the British Empire —the Lal Kila or Red Fortress of ancient Delhi.

Throughout my public career, I have always felt that, though India is otherwise ripe for independence in every way, she has lacked one thing, namely, an army of liberation. George Washington of America could fight and win freedom, because he had his army. Garibaldi could liberate Italy, because he had his armed volunteers behind him. It is your privilege and honour to be the first to come forward and organise India's National Army. By doing so, you have removed the last obstacle in our path to freedom. Be happy and proud that you are the pioneers—the vanguard—in such a noble cause.

Let me remind you that you have a two-fold task to perform. With the force of arms and at the cost of your blood you will have to win liberty. Then, when India is free, you will have to organise the permanent army of Free India whose task it will be to preserve our liberty for all time. We must build up our national defence on such an unshakable foundation that never again in our history shall we lose our freedom.

As soldiers, you will always have to cherish and live up to the three ideals of faithfulness, duty and sacrifice. Soldiers, who always remain faithful to their nation, who perform their duty under all circumstances, and who are always prepared to sacrifice their lives, are invincible. If you, too, want to be invincible, engrave these three ideals in the innermost core of your hearts. A true soldier needs both military and spiritual training. You must—all of you—so train yoursives and your comrades that every soldier will have unbounded confidence in himself, will be conscious of being immensely superior to the enemy, will be fearless of death, and will have sufficient initiative to act on his own in any critical situation, should the need arise. During the course of the present war, you have seen with your own eyes what wonders, scientific training, coupled with courage, fearlessness and dynamism, can achieve. Learn all that you can from this example and build up for Mother India an absolutely first class modern army.

To those of you who are officers, I should like to say that your responsibility is a heavy one. Though the responsibility of an officer in every army in this world is indeed great, it is far greater in your case. Because of our political enslavement, we have no tradition like that of Mukden, Port Arthur or Sedan to inspire us. We have to unlearn some of the things that the British taught us and we have to learn which that they did not teach. Nevertheless, I am confident that you will rise to the occasion and fulfil the task that your countrymen have thrown on your brave shoulders. Remember always that officers can make or unmake an army. Remember, too, that the British have suffered defeats on so many

fronts, largely because of worthless officers. And remember also that out of your ranks will be born the future General Staff of the Army of Free India.

To all of you I should like to say that in the course of this war, you will have to acquire the experience and achieve the success which alone can build up a national tradition for our army in future. An army that has no tradition of courage, fearlessness and invincibility cannot hold its own in a struggle with a powerful enemy.

Comrades! You have voluntarily accepted a mission that is the noblest that the human mind can conceive of. For the fulfilment of such a mission, no sacrifice is too great—not even the sacrifice of one's life. You are to-day the custodians of India's national honour and the embodiment of India's hopes and aspirations. So conduct yourselves that your countrymen may bless you and posterity may be proud of you.

I have said that to-day is the proudest day of my life. For an enslaved people, there can be no greater pride, no higher honour, than to be the first soldier in the army of liberation. But this honour carries with it a corresponding responsibility and I am deeply conscious of it. I assure you that I shall be with you in darkness and in sunshine, in sorrow and in joy, in suffering and in victory. For the present, I can offer you nothing except hunger, thirst, privation, forced marches and death. But if you follow me in life and in death—as I am confident you will—I shall lead you to victory and freedom. It does not matter who among us will live to see India free. It is enough that India shall be free and that we shall give our all to make her free. May God now bless our Army and grant us victory in the coming fight!

Inquilab Zindabad! Azad Hind Zindabad!

The following day, Tuesday, July 6, 1943, in bright sunshine, and on the former battlefield of Singapore, the Premier of Nippon witnessed a parade of India's Army of Liberation, in the presence of Srijut Subhas Chandra Bose.

Premier General Tojo stood at the top of steps of the Singapore Municipal Offices, and surveyed the solid phalanx of the soldiers of India's Army of Liberation. Officers and men of the Indian National Army, whom the Nippon Premier reviewed, were conscious of the rare honour bestowed on them by Nippon, through General Tojo taking the salute at the parade. They were obviously strengthened by this further evidence of Nippon's sincerity and inflexible determination to give unstinting aid to Indians in their fight against the Anglo-Americans for the complete independence of their Motherland.

To the serried ranks of the Indian National Army drawn up on the esplanade, the sight of the Premier of Nippon, General Tojo, and Srijut Subhas Chandra Bose, the uncrowned King of Free India, standing side by side, and taking salute at the Parade was a rare experience and a wonderful tonic to the already high morale.

The following address of welcome was presented to Premier Tojo by Srijut Subhas Chandra Bose on behalf of the Indian National Army:

Your Excellency, on behalf of the Indian National Army I have great pleasure in offering Your Excellency a most hearty welcome this morning. I desire to express our profound appreciation of the great honour Your Excellency has done us by spending so much of your valuable time in order to review our Army. This day will ever remain a red-letter day in the history of the newly organised Army of Free India. Your Excellency's presence among our soldiers to-day, immediately after sending an inspiring message to the Indian Independence League Conference yesterday, has given a powerful impetus to our revolutionary struggle.

The Army that stands before Your Excellency to-day knows that it will have to fight for India's liberty. It is also conscious of the many difficulties that still beset the path to victory and freedom. But this Army is determined to achieve India's liberty at the cost of any sacrifice. In this task the Army has the active support of all Indians in East Asia, whose enthusiasm knows no bounds.

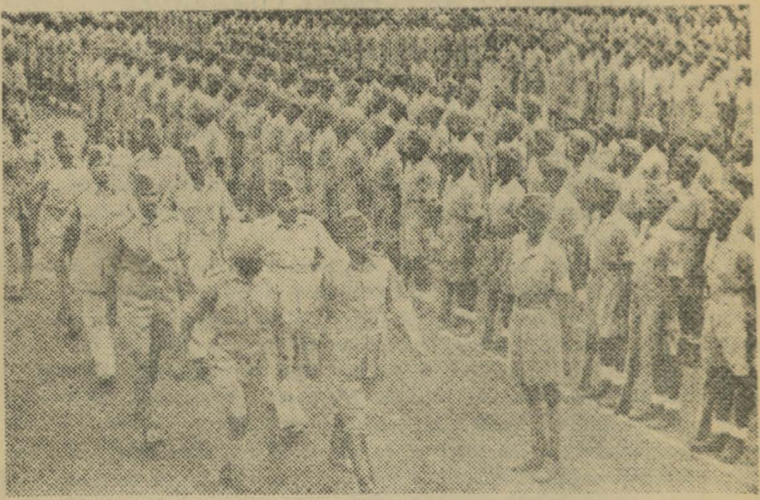
In conclusion, I beg to assure Your Excellency of our unshakable determination to fight with you shoulder to shoulder, through joy and sorrow, through sunshine and darkness, till complete victory is achieved and till India regains her lost liberty.

Srijut Subhas Chandra Bose took over the supreme command of the Indian National Army and issued the following Special Order of the Day:

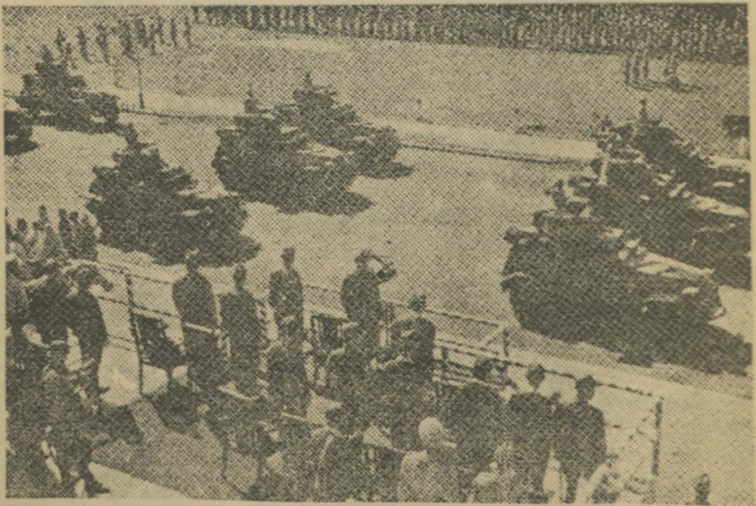
In the interest of the Indian Independence Movement and of the Azad Hind Fauj I have taken over the direct command of our army from this day.

This is for me a matter of joy and pride—because for an Indian, there can be no greater honour than to be the Commander of India's Army of Liberation. But I am conscious of the magnitude of the task that I have undertaken and I feel weighed down with a sense of responsibility. I pray that God may give me the necessary strength to fulfil my duty to India under all circumstances, however difficult or trying they may be.

I regard myself as the servant of 38 crores of my countrymen, who profess different religious faiths. I am determined to discharge my duties in such a manner that the interests of these 38



Nethaji inspecting the Azad Hind Fauj.



Nethaji takes the salute of the Azad Hind Fauj.

crores may be safe in my hands and that every single Indian will have reason to put complete trust in me. It is only on the basis of undiluted nationalism and of perfect justice and impartiality that India's Army of Liberation can be built up.

In the coming struggle for the emancipation of our Motherland, for the establishment of a Government of Free India, based on the goodwill of 38 crores of Indians and for the creation of a permanent army which will guarantee Indian independence for all time, the Azad Hind Fauj has a vital role to play. To fulfil this role, we must weld ourselves into an army that will have only one goal—namely, the Freedom of India—and only one will—namely, to do or die in the cause of India's freedom. When we stand, the Azad Hind Fauj has to be like a wall of granite; when we march, the Azad Hind Fauj has to be like a steam-roller.

Our task is not an easy one; the war will be long and hard but I have complete faith in the justice and in the invincibility of our cause. 38 crores of human beings, who form about one-fifth of the human race, have a right to be free and they are now prepared to pay the price of freedom. There is consequently no power on earth that can deprive us of our birthright of liberty any longer.

Comrades! Officers and men! With your unstinted support and unflinching loyalty, the Azad Hind Fauj will become the instrument of India's liberation. Ultimate victory will certainly be ours, I assure you.

Our work has already begun. With the slogan, "Onward to Delhi!" on our lips, let us continue to labour and to fight till our National Flag flies over the Viceroy's House in New Delhi, and the Azad Hind Fauj holds its victory parade inside the ancient Red fortress of India's metropolis.

SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE,
Sipah-Salar.
(Supreme Commander)

Headquarters, Sipah-Salar,
Azad Hind Fauj.
25th August, 1943.

As the Supreme Commander Srijut Subhas Chandra Bose on a later occasion addressed the I.N.A. Officers on their duties and responsibilities. He said:

Brother Officers! It is my wish that we should be familiar among ourselves, and all of us should know what is our object; what are our duties and responsibilities and how to discharge these duties and responsibilities satisfactorily.

First of all, I will myself tell you something about me. Because, I wish to let you know what is my individuality and what is my individual life, as, in future, we shall have to work together and tread the same path

After the university career, I entered the political world. The most important question at that time was this: What Indians did during the last war? What was the result and what were the experiences and lessons we got for the future? In India and in England it was our experience that the policy of our leaders was wrong. Of course, we were depending upon our leaders for action. But we young men and students were thoroughly disappointed. In our minds there was only one idea, that the mistake committed by our leaders in the last war should not be committed again. We thought, if we get an opportunity in future, we will not make such mistakes.

There was another big question. In Europe, after the war, in the year 1918 and 1919, there were many changes; new governments were coming into existence, which had not existed before the war. The Czechs ceased to be a part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Another race, the Poles, formed their own government. When I went to Europe, I had the opportunity of meeting two or three Indian leaders there. They all advised me that if we want to do anything for our Motherland, we should study the history of the war and the experiences of such history should be utilized for our fight against Britain. We began to learn and understand things. We came to know how some leaders of Czechs went out of their country for doing propaganda and for getting help from the enemies of Austria and Hungary. They joined hands with Britain and France against Austria, Hungary and Germany.

The Poles, too, formed an army of 30,000 and took part in the war. It was their fortune that Germany and her allies were defeated, and after the war, they were able to form their own government.

There is no reason why we should not also go by the same path, and taking advantage of the international situation, we should fight shoulder to shoulder with the enemies of Britain, to get complete freedom.

The people of Ireland also took advantage of the war. They openly revolted under the Sinn Fein Party against the British. In the City of Dublin, the Sinn Fein Party had an army of 3,000 only. They had also an army of 10,000 strong in the country. Something went wrong with their plans and the rebellion that started in Dublin did not spread to the country-side. Anyhow they kept the City of Dublin under their control for eight days. This revolu-

tion occurred during Easter, and so the revolution is called the Easter Revolution. Though the revolt did not materialise in 1916, it again broke out in the year 1919, just after the war. They had only 5,000 volunteers. This time it was different. War was over. From England troops could be brought to suppress the rebellion. Even then this army of volunteers numbering 5,000 carried on their fight and in the end the British were brought to their knees.

In 1921, we began working in India with all the experiences that we had from the study of the history of the last war. At that time, as you know, Mahatma Gandhi had launched the Non-Co-operation Movement enthusiastically with the specific idea in mind that, when an opportunity offers itself, we should take up arms against the British. We knew also that Germany would try to take revenge and then would come our opportunity as well.

We joined the Congress in 1921 under Mahatma Gandhi, because there was no other way to carry on our fight to keep up the honour of the nation in the face of terrible British oppression. Hindus and Muslims were united. But we knew definitely that by Civil Disobedience Campaign India would not be completely free. Of course, the movement did create the political consciousness among the people, and it prepared the people for armed struggle. From 1921 onwards we were waiting for an opportunity to take up arms, and that opportunity was a war in Europe.

This is not my individual view but it is the view of many young men who came under Mahatma Gandhi in 1921. Certainly there were a few young men who believed in non-violence, but many of them were strong supporters of violence and they were awaiting the proper time to strike.

I went to Europe in 1933 and remained up to 1936. My idea in going to Europe was to study the situation and to know what was going to happen next. During my stay in Europe I visited Berlin and made acquaintance with certain Government officials and met Fuehrer Hitler. I plainly asked them when they were going to strike at Britain so that we might also take up arms simultaneously against the British. They replied that they were not at all going to fight Britain and they hoped that all their demands would be fulfilled by Britain. They were for a compromise with Britain. However, they expressed their sympathy for Indian freedom. I argued with them about the British hypocrisy and their cunning policy as Indians know best about that by personal experience, and warned them that, when Britain thought that the German power was getting stronger, she would openly come into conflict with Germany. In the end I told them: "Britain is our

traditional enemy. We will fight her, whether you support us or not". But I had no doubt that war would start in Europe soon. Anybody could understand this, by having a look at the preparations that were going on in Germany. When I went to Europe this time, I reminded them of what I said in the year 1936.

My idea in saying this is that I came back from Europe with a strong conviction of what was going to happen. The new party that came in power in Germany was always for a fight. I clearly understood that the German demands would not be accepted by the British and if the British found the Germans growing a bit strong, they would fight the Nazis. In 1938 when I went to Europe I noticed some changes. Germany was beginning to understand that the British would never fully accept their proposals. In September, 1938, when the Germans put forward the case of Sudetan Germans, Mr. Chamberlain rushed to Munich to come to an agreement with Herr Hitler. There was a time when all parleys of international value generally used to take place in London. But when I saw the British Prime Minister, Mr. Chamberlain, going to Germany, leaving his own country and when he accepted the German demands, I realized the secret. It was the first time in the history of the British that a Prime Minister of England relegating the usual custom, proceeded to a foreign country to accept the demands of another nation.

Then I started doing propaganda in India that a war in Europe was inevitable and it was the duty of Indians to be alert and to try to force Britain to accept our demands, and if they did not, to prepare ourselves for a fight. I was noticing the reaction of the public to my propaganda, and I was convinced that the full support of the general public was with me. But our leaders were thinking in a different way, particularly Mahatma Gandhi whose policy was to wait and see. But we young men were not deterred by this policy. We redoubled our propaganda. We were asking the people of India to take advantage of the golden opportunity that would be presented to them in the near future.

In the annual session of the Indian National Congress at Tripuri in March 1939 I tabled one resolution demanding freedom for India within six months and such an ultimatum to be sent to the Government. In case this demand was not conceded in that period, we should prepare the people for a fight against Britain with whatever might we might possess. It was, of course, in the nature of an ultimatum and the resolution was introduced, keeping in view the tense international situation and knowing full well that a conflagration would begin in Europe within six months.

When the war actually started in September 1939 the public began to realize that what I said in March was correct. It was our duty at that time to unite all the nationalist forces and bring pressure on the British Government to concede to our demand, and if unsuccessful, to fight for it. But our leaders were thinking and acting in a different way. They were under the impression that Britain would become weak in the course of the war and to get the Indian help, they would come to an honourable agreement with the Congress. I tried to point out the absurdity of such a notion and told them whatever might be the weakness of Britain during the war they would never allow to rid themselves of the power in India. The weaker they grew the more powerful would become their grip on India. Without India they would not be able to prosecute the war successfully. They would begin looting and plundering the country's resources as they got weaker and weaker.

In March 1940 when the Congress Session was in progress, we expected a forward step. But Gandhiji had his own way. He was to wait and see. We began to lose our minds come what may, to start our own movement. An anti-war movement was started throughout the country. It became somewhat serious; many people courted imprisonment. Meanwhile I got information that Gandhiji himself would launch a civil disobedience movement in November as the Government did nothing. I heaved a sigh of relief that if Gandhiji starts a movement, it will have world-wide repercussions. The whole world will come to know that Indians are fighting for freedom. All the nations will think that Indians deserve freedom. We will surely get the sympathy of the world to have saved our honour.

But I thought that by the weapon of Civil Disobedience alone we will not achieve freedom. The movement would surely bring pressure on the Government and hamper its war effort, but the government would never consider our demand. That was my idea. We were thinking what to do. What new method should be adopted. Young men were doing their bit with bombs and revolvers. We got into touch with these young revolutionaries. I knew their strength. They were real revolutionaries with high spirits. But their strength and sacrifice were not enough to achieve complete independnce for our Motherland.

It was then we began scanning the pages of history and found many an example and learned many a lesson. The American example was before us. I began to realise, and even came to the conclusion, that without outside help the Indian revolution would not be suc-

cessful. The United States got a lot of help from France. Even Generals were despatched from France. In the history of the world, it is not a new thing to get assistance from other nations for winning freedom for one's country.

The news we got in India were twisted and more of a propaganda nature. It was natural that Britain should do so. But to understand the real situation of the world by remaining inside India was not possible. What would be the result of the war and how the war would end and who would win in the end? What were the ideas of Indians abroad, how they were thinking about India's fight for freedom, how to get help from them for India's independence and whether it was possible to get material help from the enemies of Britain? These were the questions which made us think that somebody should be sent outside India. I thought of sending some persons to foreign countries. Certainly it was a most difficult task, strictly restricted as our movements were. I thought also that such a person should leave India as the British really "understand" and as the Indian people seriously take. At last I decided myself to get out of India.

I was in jail at that time. To get out of the jail was a difficult problem. To slip away from jail would make it difficult for me to leave the country in view of the British C.I.D. At last I decided to go on hunger-strike. This decision was taken after steeling my heart, that I would either die or get out of the jail. When my decision was made known to the Government it created a stir in the official circles as they never wanted to see me die in the jail. The Superintendent of the jail came and entreated me not to undertake hunger-strike. He argued that if all the prisoners went on hunger-strike the King's Government would come to a stand-still, and warned me that if I died in the jail it would be my own responsibility. My hunger-strike went on for six days. They tried to forcibly feed me but I was determined to die the way of Jatindra Nath Das. After seven days, a secret conference took place at Government House. They wanted to do something as the medical report about my condition was serious. They set me free with the idea of re-arresting me after a month. I got information of this in good time. Meanwhile some arrangements could be made for my escape from India and I left my country.

Experiences I had a lot, after leaving my homeland. I was listening in to both the radios. I had the privilege from the German authorities to hear the enemy radio and propaganda. I had the opportunity of visiting all the fortifications and other defences all over Europe. After these personal experiences, I have no doubt

what will be the result of the war. As I said in your parade the other day, the war will be a prolonged one, but there will surely be one result, that is, the collapse of Britain, and her empire.

Now the question is this. What is the position of India under these circumstances? The destruction of the British Empire is certain, and the whole map of the world will be changed. What will be the position of India in the new map? The British will be driven out of India, and what should be our position then? We should think about this. There are three alternatives:

One is to keep away from the war and to have a neutral attitude.

Second is to go and beg for freedom from the new invader and

the third is to take part in the war with the enemies of Britain and qualify ourselves for freedom.

I know what alternative you prefer. For us there is but one alternative, that is, to fight hand in hand with the enemies of Britain and contribute our share in the destruction of British Empire.

The internal situation in India is very grave. It is our duty to encourage and support the forces that are in India doing their bit against Britain. What is the internal situation in India to-day? The whole population is against the British Government.

People are carrying on the fight without arms. To suppress millions of unarmed people, a small army of thousands equipped with all modern arms is enough. When I had the privilege of meeting Herr Hitler, I took the liberty of asking this question of India and sought his advice as to what path we should tread. The Chancellor of Germany, who is himself an experienced revolutionary, giving his opinion, said that a well-equipped army of a few thousands would be able to control millions of unarmed revolutionaries. He added that so long as an external power did not knock at the frontier no change could be expected in the internal situation. We should form part of this external power. We hear so much nowadays of a second front. It is we, who should create a second front in India. It would have been possible for them to face us in both the fronts, had not the Axis Powers crippled and maimed them. The Axis Powers had made our work easier. We are thankful to them for doing this, but at the same time, it is incumbent upon us to do our duty towards our motherland. To do this work an army of 50,000 is enough, but we should be prepared to raise an army of 300,000.

The question now is this: What are the duties of this army? There are two duties which this army will have to perform. The first and important duty is, of course, to fight the enemy and free our motherland; the second one is also no less important. After the enemy is defeated, we will have to do tremendous work in India. By freeing India our duty will not be over. Our army is revolutionary one, and as revolutionaries we have two duties to perform. The first one, as I said before, is to drive the enemy out of India, and the second duty is to form such a powerful army in India that will face any nation or nations put together, and to defend India forever against foreign invasion.

Friends! We all should think that we will never remain slaves. We have already had a very good taste of this slavery. To protect our motherland from any foreign aggressors, it is the duty of all of you to form the strongest possible army in the world. As far as ability and efficiency are concerned, I may tell you that you are second to none. We were not getting proper training and opportunity but whenever these two things were offered to Indians, they have shown their mettle. Not only in military, but in politics, economics, science, sports, etc., we Indians are not in any way backward. Indians are efficient and able. The Almighty has created them like that. Of course, we have to learn much from the world and we are prepared to do so. And with this learning and the natural efficiency and ability of ours and with full confidence, we are forming this army.

For the success of an army, military training only will not suffice. Take the case of France. Up to 1939 the French Army was considered the best in the world. It was really so. They had a lot of materials, aeroplanes, heavy guns, etc. In addition there was the 'impregnable' Maginot Line to protect them. Why then France fell within so short a time? There was only one reason and that was, there was no *josh* in them. After the last war, such a feeling was created in France that they should take rest as the enemy had been defeated once for all. That was not so in Germany. In Germany the cry was 'revenge.' One nation was thinking in terms of revenge and sacrifice. That is why the French people had their disastrous defeat. The French people had lost their spirit and the Germans were seething with the spirit.

After the Azad Hind Fauj parade, I had a talk with Premier Tojo who congratulated me for the grand parade. He also said that the success of an army mainly depends on the moral training they get. I assured him that that will be given special attention.

The Nipponese attach much importance to this 'spirit.' For instance, see the spirit of the defenders of Attu Island. They knew they could not win against such a numerically superior army. They could have easily surrendered. But they did not do so. It was against the honour and glory of their motherland. The whole garrison of 2,000 sacrificed their lives fighting the enemy.

I may also mention about the brave defenders of Stalingrad. They were at one time surrounded by the enemy, and they were even given an ultimatum by the Germans to surrender. They did not surrender and carried on their fight even though the enemy were 200,000 strong that surrounded them. Such was the spirit of the brave defenders of Stalingrad.

We should create such a spirit in our men. The responsibility of the Officers is great. A Sepoy can afford to leave the battlefield but an officer cannot do so. He is a responsible man and only an army led by such responsible officers will be successful in the end. So, your work is tremendous. There is no other work greater and nobler than the work you have undertaken. Our sisters and brothers in India are facing even bigger ordeals with cheer and enthusiasm. For Indian Independence and for India's welfare, there is no greater work than this.

While in Europe, I tried and I was successful in forming a small National Army. I have brought photos of the army. In Berlin and Rome Indians are thinking and doing things as you are thinking and doing here. Everywhere in the world, wherever there are Indians, a new spirit, a new awakening has come among Indians.

CHAPTER—XVII

SUBHAS BOSE REORGANISES THE LEAGUE

Soon after his assumption of the office of the President Sri Subhas Chandra Bose issued the following circular for reorganising the League:

INDIAN INDEPENDENCE LEAGUE HEADQUARTERS

7, Chancery Lane,

Syonan, 13th July, 2603.

In view of the new responsibilities that the Indian Independence Movement has to face in the near future and in view of the wave of enthusiasm that is visible among Indians in East Asia, it has

become necessary to reorganise the Indian Independence League. The first step in this direction is to reorganise the Headquarters of the Indian Independence League. For this reorganisation, some of the existing Departments have to be expanded while other new Departments have also to be set up. I am giving below the scheme of reorganisation. I shall watch carefully the result of this reorganisation and in the light of experience, I may make further changes—if and when necessary.

DEPARTMENTS:—1. Military Bureau, 2. Recruitment, 3. Training, 4. Supplies, 5. Finance, 6. Publicity, Press and Propaganda 7. Health and Social Welfare, 8. Overseas, 9. Women, 10. Reconstruction, 11. Education and Culture and 12. General Secretary.

Department of Recruitment. This Department will organise Recruitment for the Azad Hind Fauj (Indian National Army) all over East Asia in a systematic way. This is a new Department.

Department of Training. The existing Youth Department will be absorbed in this new Department. The work of this Department will be to provide some kind of training for all recruits throughout East Asia until the Army is in a position to take over these recruits and put them into military barracks.

The existing Training Institutes will be managed by this Department and if necessary, more may be started. The present staff of the Youth Department will come under this Department and fresh appointments will be made, if and when necessary, according to the amount of work that has to be handled by the Department. The Head of the Youth Department will become the head of the Department of Training.

Department of Supplies. The function of this new Department will be to collect supplies from all over East Asia for the Indian Independence Movement in general and for the Azad Hind Fauj (Indian National Army) in particular for present and future use.

The existing Stores at the Headquarters of the Indian Independence League will henceforth be managed by the Department of supplies.

Department of Health and Social Welfare. The existing Welfare Department will be absorbed in this Department. The new Department of Health and Social Welfare will have two sub-departments—namely: (a) Medical, and (b) Social Welfare.

The existing Welfare Department with its staff will be absorbed in the sub-department of Social Welfare. The head of the Welfare Department will become the Head of the Sub-department of Social

Welfare. The medical Sub-department will be under a junior Medical Officer. The whole department of Health and Social Welfare will be under a Senior Medical Officer.

Overseas Department. The work of this new Department will be:

(a) To direct and stimulate the work of the Branches
(b) To establish new Branches where necessary
(c) To maintain regular contact between the Headquarters and the different Branches.

Women's Department. This will be a new Department. The work of this Department will be to organise Indian women throughout East Asia and direct and stimulate their activities in connection with the Indian Independence Movement.

This Department will also recruit women for the Army and will organise a Red Cross Department from among Indian women and girls.

Reconstruction Department. The work of this new Department will be:

(a) To prepare plans for the future—particularly in connection with future administration in India.
(b) To train men for future administration, etc.

Education and Culture. This will be a new Department. The function of this Department will be to direct the educational and cultural activities of Indians in East Asia and to provide for additional facilities in this connection, in so far as it is possible for the League to do so.

General Secretary's Department. The functions of this Department will be:—

(a) To maintain liaison with the *Hikari Kikan
(b) To co-ordinate the work of the different Departments
(c) To perform any special duties that may be assigned by me from time to time.

This Department will have a sub-department, to be called the House Sub-department. This sub-department will deal with problems arising out of the daily work of the Indian Independence League Headquarters, *e.g.,* (a) Transport and Petrol, (b) Buildings and their equipment, (c) Light, Telephone, etc., at the Headquarters,

* After Major General Iwakuro had departed from Malaya to take up another appointment leaving the Kikan in charge of his successor Col. Yamamoto, the Kikan came to be known as "Hikari Kikan," "Hikari" meaning light and glory.

(d) Medical Staff, and (e) Arrangement for the stay of guests coming from outside.

When the work of the House Sub-Department increases it may be necessary and advisable to convert it into a full-fledged Department.

ESTABLISHMENT. Questions dealing with establishment (*e.g.* appointments, allowances, transfer, etc.,) will be dealt with by me. The Departments concerned will, however, make recommendations from time to time.

EXISTING STAFF:—The existing Staff will all continue to work for the League in future. Transfers from one Department to another may, however, be made, if found to be necessary, in order to give effect to the re-organisation scheme outlined above.

DETAILED INSTRUCTIONS.—Detailed instructions with regard to the working of each Department will follow.

(sd.) SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE,
President,
THE INDIAN INDEPENDENCE LEAGUE,
EAST ASIA.

The following circulars were issued by the Departments of Recruitment and Training to provide detailed instructions for the working of each department:

INDIAN INDEPENDENCE LEAGUE HEADQUARTERS.
(Department of Recruitment).

7, Chancery Lane,
Syonan.
23rd July, 2603.

SUBJECT: RECRUITMENT

You may be aware by now that the Headquarters of the Indian Independence League have been re-organised and that, in order to effect the *Total Mobilisation* of our man-power and resources, several new departments have been started. In accordance with this plan, this Department has come into existence and it is the earnest desire of our President that at least 300,000 men (including women volunteers) be recruited for the coming fight for India's freedom.

Regarding the training of these recruits, the newly formed Training Department will address you separately. I shall only tell you this that we do not want to call up these recruits at once. In

fact, the training will be done in three stages. In the first stage, recruits should not leave either homes or their professional work—and they should do only morning or evening drills. In the second stage, they will be brought into camps for whole-time training—when these camps are started in different parts of East Asia. In the third stage, they will be brought into Military Barracks when they will become full-fledged members of the Azad Hind Fauj (Indian National Army).

It will be considered a breach of discipline if any recruit suddenly gives up his professional work, or leaves his home, before he is called up for whole-time training.

To carry on the recruitment of volunteers for the Indian National Army in a systematic way, the following machinery is being set up:—

1. Under each Territorial Committee, the Chairman of every I.I.L. Branch will be the Recruiting Officer for his own area.
2. Under each Branch, the Chairman of every I.I L. Sub-Branch will be Assistant Recruiting Officer and will be responsible for recruitment within his area.
3. The Recruiting Officer (Branch Chairman) will supervise and co-ordinate the work of the Assistant Recruiting Officers. In case any Assistant Recruiting Officer fails to do his work properly, the Recruiting Officer will have authority to remove him and appoint a new Assistant Recruiting Officer in his place—after obtaining the approval of the Chairman of the Territorial Committee.
4. The Chairman of each Territorial Committee will be the Chief Recruiting Officer for his area. He will supervise and co-ordinate the work of the Recruiting Officers within his area. In case any Recruiting Officer fails to do his work properly, the Chief Recruiting Officer can remove him and appoint a new Recruiting Officer in his place—after obtaining the approval of the Secretary of the Department of Recruitment of the I.I.L. Headquarters.

DUTIES REGARDING RECRUITMENT

1. Each recruit should fill in an enrolment form and hand it over to the Assistant Recruiting Officer.
2. These forms should be collected and sent to Headquarters through the Recruiting Officer and the Chief Recruiting Officer.
3. Owing to extreme emergency, old forms are being made use of, until revised forms are printed by this Department.

4. In case of shortage of printed forms, typed enlistment forms may be used by any Recruiting Officer or Assistant Recruiting Officer.
5. Each Officer, either R.O. or A.R O., who is directly responsible for recruitment should keep a register of all the recruits who have applied for enlistment within his area—together with all particulars regarding each recruit.
6. Every C.R.O., R.O. and A R.O., will please note that there will be no age-restriction for recruits applying for enlistment. Printed forms of enlistment which contain age restriction should be amended accordingly.
7. Each Assistant Recruiting Officer should arrange for the Medical Examination of each recruit within his area. If necessary, he will take the help of the R.O. in this connection and the R.O. will, if necessary, take the help of the C.R.O. in this connection.
8. The forms of enlistment duly filled in should be forwarded to Headquarters, together with the Medical Officer's report.
9. No recruit should be rejected by the Medical Officer simply because he does not come up to the Army Standard—provided he is otherwise physically fit.
10. Each Branch or Sub-Branch as the case may be, should meet the expenses in connection with recruitment.
11. Enlistment forms together with the Medical Officer's report should be sent to Headquarters regularly once a fortnight. The first instalment of enlistment forms should be sent up as soon as possible.
12. In order to facilitate and expedite the work of recruitment the Headquarters will send to each Territorial Committee one or more Military Recruitment Advisers. The C.R O., R.O. and A.R.O. are requested to make the fullest use of these Advisers.

Secretary,
Department of Recruitment.

INDIAN INDEPENDENCE LEAGUE HEADQUARTERS
(Department of Training)
SUBJECT—TRAINING

In view of the total mobilisation in which Netaji requires not only the youth but all able-bodied men to serve irrespective of age, the existing Youth Department has been absorbed in the Training Department.

2. The training being imparted to the Youth Sections by the I.S.I. and the Azad School Graduates at the local centres in Malaya will be continued under the direction of the "Member in Charge Training" of each branch or sub-branch.

More Instructors for local training will be sent to Malayan Branches on demand by the Malayan Chairman.

The demand from other territories should state the approximate number of recruits likely during the next 3 months.

3. The system of training will mobilise the manpower of East Asia in three successive stages:—

1st STAGE. *Local training* in the nature of part time instruction for 2 hours in the morning or evening, every day as far as possible.

This is the responsibility of the territorial Branch and its Sub-Branches. Recruits should neither leave their profession, nor their homes.

It will be considered a breach of discipline if any recruit suddenly gives up his professional work, or leaves his home, before he is called up for whole-time training.

Instructors for this purpose will be provided from I.N.A. and from men trained in Central Camps.

Officers of the Azad Hind Fauj (I N.A.) who are on recruiting or other duty will be utilized wherever possible to supervise such training and to help the Local Chairman in matters of Military Training and Organisation.

2nd STAGE. Central Training in Central Camps under the Direct Control of this Headquarters.

(i) Ordinary Camps; (ii) Special Camps.

(i) Territories will be informed of their quota for ordinary camps as and when Camps are ready. Although no high educational qualifications are needed, the best men from local training Centres must be selected to make up this quota.

The first ordinary Central Camp will open in Malaya on or about August 15. The total quota of 5,000 is alloted to Malaya. Detailed instructions later.

(ii) *Special Camps.* The highest possible educational qualifications are needed for candidates for special Camps.

Three such Camps, the Azad School, Syonan, the B.Y.T.C., Kuala Lumpur, and the Swaraj Youth Training Institute, Rangoon, are already in existence.

Another Camp, the Azad School, Penang, for 100 volunteers will open during the first week of August 2603. As other territories

will not be able to send candidates in time, the quota of 100 will also be required from Malaya.

Other territories should proceed with the task of sifting good material and must send in applications as soon as possible.

3rd STAGE. Training in Azad Hind Fauj.

This will begin as soon as the Army is in a position to absorb the men permanently.

When the system is in full swing volunteers from the 1st and 2nd stages of training will provide a large reservoir for the I.N.A.

4. *Conditions and Allowances.* In addition to free clothing, board and lodging, men in all central camps will receive a normal pocket allowance.

5. *Training Syllabus and Organisation for the 1st Stage* will remain the same as given in "Interim Plan" dated 13-4-2603 except that more emphasis will be laid on Physical Fitness, Route Marches, and Military Training.

A simple specimen programme for the month of August is given below:—

Once a Week: Route March. Distance to be increased from 5 to 15 miles.

Daily: P.T. 45 mins., Spiritual Training: 20 mins., Drill: 45 mins., Instructions for next day and rest 10 min.
Total:—2 hours.

Sundays and Holidays: Special lectures for spiritual and political training.

6. *Finance.* The expenses in connection with training will continue to remain a territorial responsibility as far as the 1st Stage of training is concerned.

Secretary,
Training Department.

CHAPTER—XVIII
PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT OF FREE INDIA

Indians in East Asia followed Sri Subhas Chandra Bose with unbounded enthusiasm and implicit faith and conferred on him the title of "Netaji" (Leader). After having reorganised the Indian Independence League Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose toured Malaya and then visited Thailand and Burma. He was present at the historic ceremony of the declaration of Burma's independence at Rangoon on August 1, 1943, and had long discussions with Dr. Ba Maw, the Premier, and other Ministers of Free Burma on problems of common interest.

After his return from Burma the stage was set for the formation of the Provisional Government of Free India. On October 21, 1943, a Conference of the Indian Independence League, attended by delegates from all parts of East Asia and thousands of Indians from all over Malaya was held at Singapore. The proceedings began with a welcome address by Mr. M. K. Ramachandram, which was followed by a detailed report on the working of the League by the General Secretary Lt.-Col. A. C. Chatterji. Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose then ascended the rostrum and delivered the following stirring address:

Friends,—First of all, allow me to offer you a most cordial welcome to this Conference which has been convened at very short notice. The purpose of this Conference is to take stock of our progress and achievement since we met here in July last and then to take the necessary steps for the early attainment of our national goal.

The first task to which I addressed myself after taking over the Presidentship of the Indian Independence League in East Asia was the reorganisation of the League Headquarters with a view to putting it on a war footing. This work was undertaken early in July and several new Departments were opened in the Headquarters. The reorganisation of the Headquarters was effected according to the programme of "Total Mobilisation" of all the resources of Indians in East Asia—resources in men, money and materials. Following the reorganisation of the Headquarters, branches of the League throughout East Asia were also reorganised on the same basis and effect was given everywhere to the new programme of "total mobilisation."

The next task to which I addressed myself was the reorganisation of the Azad Hind Fauj (or the Indian National Army). To this end, I took over the direct command of our Army. Since then, some changes have already been made in our army organisation and, in future, some more changes will be needed. Simultaneously with changes in army organisation, the morale of the Army as a whole has been considerably strengthened and improved. One indication of the present morale of our Army is the joy and enthusiasm which light up every face, when a Unit is transferred northwards from Syonan. I am glad to tell you that to-day the slogan that is on the lips of every member of the Azad Hind Fauj is the slogan—"ONWARD TO DELHI." In fact, it would be no exaggeration to say that the Army as a whole is earnestly longing for the day when it will be transported to the frontier of India.

While speeding up the spiritual and technical training of the existing Army with a view to making it ready for action the work of expanding the Army has also been taken in hand. I am happy and proud to inform you that the morale of the new recruits has come up to our highest expectations. As to the number of new recruits, I may tell you that though the whole of Malaya is now dotted with our Camps, we have still a very large number of recruits in hand. for whose training we have not yet been able to make the necessary arrangments. Nevertheless, we hope that in future we shall be able to make such arrangements that every recruit who volunteers may be taken care of at once. To this end, training Camps are being opened in other parts of East Asia as well—*e.g.* in Thailand, Burma, etc.

It is not our young men alone who have been volunteering everywhere in large numbers. Our young women also are coming forward enthusiastically to volunteer for national service of every kind. We have, therefore, found it necessary to organise a Rani of Jhansi Regiment, in which our sisters will be given military as well as Red Cross Training. The Central Training Camp for the Rani of Jhansi Regiment will be opened in Syonan on the 22nd October.

In accordance with the scheme of "total mobilisation," strenuous efforts are being made everywhere to collect funds for the Independence Movement and also to purchase and collect supplies necessary for our Army. The response has on the whole, been very encouraging. Among the middle and poorer classes, the spirit of sacrifice hitherto exhibited has been remarkable and affords satisfaction and pride to every freedom-loving Indian. As for the richer classes, they are slowly coming forward and I hope that in future they, too, will not lag behind the rest of the Community in the matter of national service and sacrifice.

Since July last besides carrying on an extensive propaganda among the Indian Community as a whole, we have been also concentrating on those sections of the Community who have been lukewarm or indifferent in the past. I am glad to be able to report that in this respect as well, we have made considerable progress. There is to-day a general desire among all sections and strata of the Indian community in East Asia to do everything possible to further the cause of Indian Independence and they are anxiously waiting for further steps to be taken in that direction.

During the last few months, the situation inside India has been developing in a manner favourable to our cause, though it has meant more and more suffering for the people. The political attitude of

the British authorities remains as reactionary as ever, though occasionally high-placed officials talk glibly of compromise. All the known and recognised leaders of Indian nationalism are behind the prison-bars, along with a very large number of our political workers and fighters. There is no possibility that this situation will change, though it is not unlikely that a futile attempt may be made once again to dupe the Indian people into a dishonourable compromise with Britain.

The political unrest in India has been greatly accentuated by the famine conditions prevailing in several parts of India—and particularly in Bengal. There can be no doubt that these famine conditions have been largely due to the policy of ruthless exploitation of India's food and other resources for Britain's war purposes, over a period of nearly four years. You are aware that on behalf of our League, I made a free and unconditional offer of one hundred thousand tons of rice for our starving countrymen at home as a first instalment. Not only was this offer not accepted by the British authorities in India—but we were given only abuse in return. On the other hand, frantic appeals made by public institutions in India —like the Calcutta Municipality for instance, to President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill, for food supplies for the starving millions in India evoked no response at all. The only satisfaction that we can derive out of this heart-rending situation is the thought that hunger always breeds revolution.

I am happy to be able to tell you that the general world situation remains as favourable for the success of our cause as it was before the anti-Axis powers obtained some success in North Africa and in Italy. Our countrymen at home realise this. Consequently, the only effect of the recent happenings in North Africa and in Italy has been to further strengthen the anti-British feeling in India and the determination of the people to throw off the British yoke. So far as the Indian Independence League in East Asia and the Indian National Army are concerned the determination to fight for and win liberty has been rapidly increasing with the passage of time, regardless of any developments in other parts of the world.

You are probably aware that since July last, I have toured more than once in the mainland of Malaya, in Thailand, in Burma and in Indo-China. The enthusiasm among our countrymen that I have met with everywhere has not only been encouraging, but has added greatly to my feeling of confidence and optimism.

For Indians fighting for their liberty, whether at home or abroad, achievement of independence by Burma in August last and by the

Philippines this month (*i.e.* October) has come as a very great inspiration. Indians throughout East Asia have celebrated both these occasions by holding meetings and demonstrations and have conveyed their heartfelt congratulations to the independent Governments of Burma and the Philippines. Simultaneously, they have realised more keenly than ever before the added responsibility which has now fallen on the Indian people to bring about the final emancipation of Asia by expelling the British and their allies from Indian soil.

In my visits to Thailand and to Burma, I was fortunate enough to make personal contact with His Excellency the Prime Minister and other Ministers of Thailand as well as with His Excellency Adipadi Dr. Ba Maw and the other Ministers of the Burmese Government. From both Governments I obtained not only sympathy and goodwill for our struggle, but also assurance of help in every possible way.

I would like to inform you also that we have been planning and preparing, not only for the coming struggle, but also for post-war reconstruction. We can visualise the conditions that we shall find at home when the Anglo-Americans and their allies are expelled from our country. We have therefore set up a Reconstruction Department in our Headquarters, where the problems of post-war reconstruction are being studied. People are also being trained for work of rapid reconstruction within India simultaneously with the progress of military operations. In short, we are not leaving anything undone in our preparation for the coming fight for freedom and for the task that we shall have to undertake thereafter.

From every point of view the stage is now set for the next stage of our campaign. We have now to adopt measures both of a political as well as of a military nature.

With regard to measures of a military nature, Indians in East Asia and, in particular, members of the Azad Hind Fauj (Indian National Army) are eagerly looking forward to the day when we shall be able to cross the frontier of India and launch the last fight for our freedom. But before we can do that some political measures have to be adopted. We have for instance, to form the Provisional Government of Azad Hind (Free India) and commence our struggle under the leadership of that Government. The formation of such a Government at this juncture will have a profound effect on Indians throughout the world and it will afford a powerful impetus to them in the struggle that lies ahead. In fact, our countrymen in East Asia have been eagerly desiring and expecting the inauguration of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind.

The Indian Independence League, being the only representative organisation of Indians in East Asia and enjoying the full confidence of the entire Indian community, is competent to form such a Government. By virtue of the powers vested in me under the Constitution of the Indian Independence League it will be my task to form the Provisional Government of Azad Hind.

It would, naturally, have been the best thing if such a Government had been constituted inside India and if that Government had launched the last struggle for liberty. But things being what they are in India and all the known and recognised leaders being in prison, it is hopeless to expect the formation of a Provisional Government within the frontiers of India. It is equally hopeless to expect the last fight for freedom to be organised or initiated within the country. It is consequently for the Indians in East Asia to undertake this solemn task.

I may, however, remark at this stage that there are several historical precedents for a Provisional Government being formed outside the frontiers of a country. There are also historical precedents for award of freedom being launched from outside the country.

But though the initiative in the political as well as in the military fields has to be taken outside the frontiers of India, it is no secret to-day that the Independence Movement abroad has been working in the closest harmony with the Movement at home. Whatever we have been doing outside has the fullest support, not only of the civil population of India, but also of a large section of Britain's Indian Army. It is also no secret to-day that there is a regular and unbroken contact between patriots working at home and those working abroad. The British authorities have, from time to time, arrested, tortured and killed some of our liaison agents—but that has not disturbed our communications in any way. In view of all these facts, there is not the slightest doubt in our minds that when we cross the Indian frontier with our Army and hoist our National Flag on Indian soil, the real revolution will break out within the country—the revolution that will ultimately bring about the end of British rule in India.

Friends, what we are doing here at present is but a preparation for the final struggle. That struggle will begin only when we cross the Indian frontier. Then will commence the historic march to Delhi —the march that will end only when the last Englishman is either expelled from India or is thrown into prison—when India's National Flag flies over the Viceroy's House and when the Azad Hind Fauj

holds its victory parade inside the ancient red-fortress of India's Metropolis.

Friends, I cannot end this address without expressing our heartfelt thanks to the Government and people of Nippon and to the Imperial Nipponese Army and Navy for the sympathy, help and co-operation that we have received in so generous a measure. The day will certainly come—and that too soon—when we shall give tangible proof of our gratitude for the assistance that we have received in the past and that we are going to receive in future, during one of the darkest hours in our history. In the meantime, all that we can do is to offer a humble token of our appreciation of and gratitude for the magnanimous sympathy and help that we have been receiving. As a small token of our gratitude, I have offered, on behalf of the Indian Independence League, a sum of money adequate for the purpose of manufacturing and equipping five aeroplanes for the Imperial Nipponese Army and five aeroplanes for the Imperial Nipponese Navy. Apart from this, I want to assure the Government and people of Nippon that however long and hard the struggle may be, we Indians are determined to fight shoulder to shoulder with them till our common enemy is overthrown. We are absolutely convinced of the ultimate victory of Nippon and her Allies, just as we are of our own national liberation.

And now, friends, I have to declare that I shall announce the composition of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind in the afternoon session to-day.

The Conference reassembled at 4 p.m. The hall was packed to overflowing, as in the morning session. Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose arrived punctually at 4 p.m., accompanied by Col. Yamamoto, chief of the Hikari Kikan. Before proclaiming the inauguration of the Provisional Government of Free India Netaji moved a message of thanks to the Imperial Government of Japan for their kind help in the Indian Independence Movement and two messages of congratulation to Burma and the Philippines on their attainment of independence. The messages were adopted by the Conference with acclamation.

Netaji then made a statement in Hindustani explaining the significance of the formation of the Provisional Government. The statement, which was translated into Tamil by Mr. M. K. Chidambaram, was as follows:

As a student of history and, in particular, of revolutions in different parts of the world, during 22 years of public life, I always

felt that what India was lacking in her fight for freedom were two things—a National Army and a National Government to lead that Army to battle. In the course of the present war, thanks to the brilliant victories achieved by the armed forces of Nippon, it became possible for Indians in East Asia to organise the Indian Independence League and the Indian National Army.

The creation of a National Army lent reality and seriousness to the whole Independence Movement in East Asia. If this Army had not been organised, the Independence League in East Asia would have been a mere propaganda organ. With the creation of the National Army, it became possible, as well as necessary, to set up a Provisional Government of Azad Hind (Free India). The Government is born out of the Independence League for the purpose of launching and directing the final struggle for India's freedom.

In setting up this Provisional Government we are, on the one hand, meeting the exigencies of the Indian situation and are, on the other, following in the footsteps of history. In recent times, the Irish people set up their Provisional Government in 1916. The Czechs did the same during the last World War. And, after the last World War, the Turks, under the leadership of Mustapha Kemal, set up their Provisional Government in Anatolia.

In our case, the Provisional Government of Azad Hind will not be like a normal peace-time Government. Its functions and its composition will be of a unique kind. It will be a fighting organisation the main object of which will be to launch and to conduct the last war against the British and their allies in India. Consequently, only such departments will be run by the Government as will be necessary for the launching and the prosecution of the struggle for liberty.

The Cabinet will consist of a certain number who will represent the civil departments of the Government—while there will be others representing the Armed Forces of the Government. Since the purpose of the Government is to fight for Independence, the armed forces have been given a large representation on the Cabinet.

Besides the ordinary Ministers of the Cabinet, provision has been made for a number of Advisers to the Cabinet. In this manner, the Provisional Government will maintain close and organic connection with the entire Indian community in East Asia and mobilise all their resources for the coming struggle.

When the Provisional Government is transferred to Indian soil, it will assume the functions of a normal government operating in its own territory. Many new departments will then be started.

With the formation of a Provisional Government of Azad Hind, the Indian Independence Movement has obtained all the preconditions of success. It remains now to start the final struggle for Freedom. This will begin when the Indian National Army crosses the frontier of India and commences its historic march to Delhi. This march will end only when the Anglo-Americans are expelled from India and the Indian National Flag is hoisted over the Viceroy's House in New Delhi.

The Conference hall resounded with loud and prolonged cheers as Netaji announced the composition of the Provisional Government as follows:

Subhas Chandra Bose (Head of the State, Prime Minister and Minister for War and Foreign Affairs).

Capt. Mrs. Lakshmi (Women's Organisation).
S. A. Ayer (Publicity and Propaganda).
Lt.-Col. A. C. Chatterji (Finance).
Representatives of the Armed Forces:

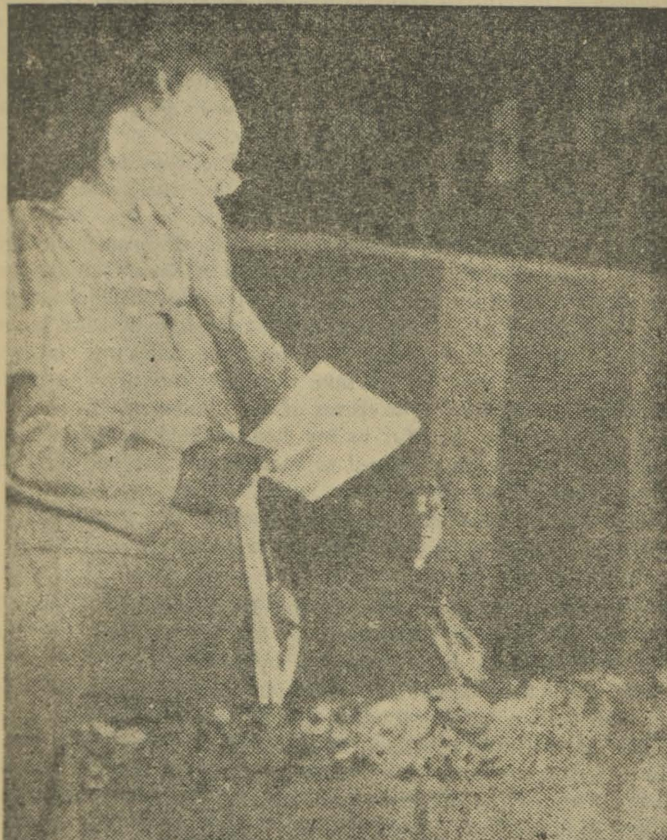
Lt.-Col. Aziz Ahmed,
Lt.-Col. N. S. Bhagat,
Lt.-Col. J. K. Bhonsle,
Lt.-Col. Gulzara Singh,
Lt.-Col. M. Z. Kiani,
Lt.-Col. A. D. Loganadan,
Lt.-Col. Ehsan Qadir,
Lt.-Col. Shah Nawaz.

A. M. Sahay, Secretary (with ministerial rank).
Rash Behari Bose (Supreme Adviser).
Advisers:

Karim Gani, Debnath Das, D. M. Khan, A. Yellappa, J. Thivy and Sardar Ishar Singh, A. N. Sarkar (Legal Adviser).

The Ministers and Advisers thereupon ascended the dais and took their seats behind Netaji.

The most touching scene was when Netaji took the Oath of Allegiance to India in the name of God. Netaji was visibly moved when he began reading the Oath in Hindustani. He seemed to feel the tremendous responsibility he was taking on his shoulders. After he had read a few words he was so overcome that he put his kerchief to his face to wipe a few drops of tears. A wave of emotion swept the whole audience, when the Head of State and Prime Minister read the following Oath:



A MOVING SCENE—NETAJI WIPING HIS TEARS WHILE TAKING THE OATH OF ALLEGIANCE TO INDIA.

"In the name of God, I take this sacred oath that to liberate India and the thirty eight crores of my countrymen I, Subhas Chandra Bose, will continue this sacred war of freedom till the last breath of my life.

I shall remain always a servant of India and to look after the welfare of thirty eight crores of my Indian brothers and sisters shall be for me my highest duty.

Even after winning freedom, I will always be prepared to shed even the last drop of my blood for the preservation of India's Freedom."

Netaji was followed by the members of the Government pledging in the name of God their loyalty to Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, the Head of the State and Premier, and consecrating themselves entirely to the service of Mother India. Each individual Member stood at attention before Netaji and took the following Oath:

In the name of God, I take this holy oath that to liberate India and the thirty eight crores of my countrymen I,.......... will be absoutely faithful to my Leader Subhas Chandra Bose and shall be always prepared to sacrifice my life and all I have for fulfilling this pledge.

Netaji cordially shook hands with each of the Members to the accompaniment of hearty cheers from the audience.

The following Proclamation of the Provisional Government of Free India was read in Hindustani by Mr. A. N. Sahay, in Tamil by Mr. Chidambaram and in English by Netaji himself:

After their first defeat at the hands of the British in 1757 in Bengal, the Indian people fought an uninterrupted series of hard and bitter battles over a stretch of one-hundred years. The history of this period teems with examples of unparalleled heroism and self-sacrifice. And, in the pages of that history, the names of Sirajuddoula and Mohanlal of Bengal, Haider Ali, Tippu Sultan and Velu Tampi of South India, Appa Sahib Bhonsle and Peshwa Baji Rao of Maharashtra, the Begums of Oudh, Sardar Shyam Singh Atariwala of Punjab and last, but not least, Rani Laxmibai of Jhansi, Tantia Topi, Maharaj Kunwar Singh of Dumraon and Nana Sahib—among others—the names of all these warriors are for ever engraved in letters of gold. Unfortunately for us, our forefathers did not at first realise that the British constituted a grave threat to the whole of India and they did not therefore put up a united front against the enemy. Ultimately, when the Indian people were roused to the reality of the situation, they made a concerted move—

and under the flag of Bahadur Shah, in 1857, they fought their last war as free men. In spite of a series of brilliant victories in the early stages of this war, ill-luck and faulty leadership gradually brought about their final collapse and subjugation. Nevertheless, such heroes as the Rani of Jhansi, Tantia Topi, Kunwar Singh and Nana Sahib live like eternal stars in the nation's memory to inspire us to greater deeds of sacrifice and valour.

Forcibly disarmed by the British after 1857 and subjected to terror and brutality, the Indian people lay prostrate for a while—but with the birth of the Indian National Congress in 1885, there came a new awakening. From 1885 tlil the end of the last World War, the Indian people, in their endeavour to recover their lost liberty, tried all possible methods—namely, agitation and propaganda, boycott of British goods, terrorism and sabotage—and finally, armed revolution. But all these efforts failed for a time. Ultimately, in 1920, when the Indian people, haunted by a sense of failure, were groping for a new method, Mahatma Gandhi came forward with the new weapon of non-co-operation and civil disobedience.

For two decades thereafter, the Indian people went through a phase of intense patriotic activity. The message of freedom was carried to every Indian home. Through personal example, people were taught to suffer, to sacrifice and to die in the cause of freedom. From the centre to the remotest villages, the people were knit together into one political organisation. Thus, the Indian people not only recovered their political consciousness, but became a political entity once again. They could now speak with one voice and strive with one will for one common goal. From 1937 to 1939, through the work of the Congress Ministries in eight provinces, they gave proof of their readiness and their capacity to administer their own affairs.

Thus, on the eve of the present World War, the stage was set for the final struggle for India's liberation. During the course of this War, Germany, with the help of her Allies, has dealt shattering blows to our enemy in Europe—while Nippon with the help of her Allies has inflicted a knockout blow to our enemy in East Asia. Favoured by a most happy combination of circumstances, the Indian people to-day have a wonderful opportunity for achieving their national emancipation.

For the first time in recent history, Indians abroad have also been politically roused and united in one organisation. They are not only thinking and feeling in tune with their countrymen at home, but are also marching in step with them, along the path to Freedom.

In East Asia, in particular, over two million Indians are now organised as one solid phalanx, inspired by the slogan of "Total Mobilisation." And in front of them stand the serried ranks of India's Army of Liberation, with the slogan "Onward to Delhi," on their lips.

Having goaded Indians to desperation by its hypocrisy and having driven them to starvation and death by plunder and loot, British rule in India has forfeited the goodwill of the Indian people altogether and is now living a precarious existence. It needs but a flame to destroy the last vestige of that unhappy rule. To light that flame is the task of India's Army of Liberation. Assured of the enthusiastic support of the civil population at home and also of a large section of Britain's Indian Army, and backed by gallant and invincible allies abroad, but relying in the first instance on its own strength, India's Army of Liberation is confident of fulfilling its historic role.

Now that the dawn of freedom is at hand, it is the duty of the Indian people to set up a Provisional Government of their own, and launch the last struggle under the banner of that Government. But with all the Indian leaders in prison and the people at home totally disarmed, it is not possible to set up a Provisional Government within India or to launch an armed struggle under the aegis of that Government. It is, therefore, the duty of the Indian Independence League in East Asia, supported by all patriotic Indians at home and abroad, to undertake this task—the task of setting up a Provisional Government of Azad Hind (Free India) and of conducting the last fight for Freedom, with the help of the Army of Liberation (that is, the Azad Hind Fauj or the Indian National Army) organised by the League.

Having been constituted as the Provisional Government of Azad Hind by the Indian Independence League in East Asia, we enter upon our duties with a full sense of the responsibility that has devolved on us. We pray that Providence may bless our work and our struggle for the emancipation of our Motherland. And we hereby pledge our lives and the lives of our comrades in arms to the cause of her Freedom, of her welfare, and her exaltation among the nations of the world.

It will be the task of the Provisional Government to launch and to conduct the struggle that will bring about the expulsion of the British and of their allies from the soil of India. It will then be the

task of the Provisional Government to bring about the establishment of a Permanent National Government of Azad Hind constituted in accordance with the will of the Indian people and enjoying their confidence. After the British and their allies are overthrown and until a Permanent National Government of Azad Hind is set up on Indian soil, the Provisional Government will administer the affairs of the country in trust for the Indian people.

The Provisional Government is entitled to, and hereby claims, the allegiance of every Indian. It guarantees religious liberty, as well as equal rights and equal opportunities to all its citizens. It declares its firm resolve to pursue the happiness and prosperity of the whole nation and of all its parts, cherishing all the children of the nation equally and transcending all the differences cunningly fostered by an alien government in the past.

In the name of God, in the name of bygone generations who have welded the Indian people into one nation and in the name of the dead heroes who have bequeathed to us a tradition of heroism and self-sacrifice—we call upon the Indian people to rally round our banner and to strike for India's Freedom. We call upon them to launch the final struggle against the British and all their allies in India and to prosecute that struggle with valour and perseverance and with full faith in final victory—until the enemy is expelled from Indian soil and the Indian people are once again a Free Nation.

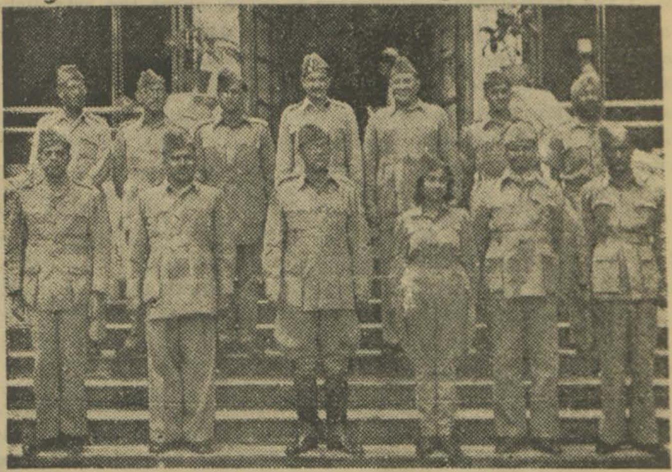
SIGNED ON BEHALF OF THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT OF AZAD HIND

SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE (Head of the State, Prime Minister and Minister for War and Foreign Affairs);
Capt. Mrs. Lakshmi (Women's Organisation);
S. A. Ayer (Publicity and Propaganda);
Lt.-Col. A. C. Chatterji (Finance);
Lt.-Col. Aziz Ahmed, Lt.-Col. N. S. Bhagat, Lt.-Col. J. K. Bhonsle, Lt.-Col. Gulzara Singh, Lt.-Col. M. Z. Kiani, Lt.-Col. A. D. Loganadan, Lt.-Col. Ehasan Qadir, Lt.-Col. Shah Nawaz (Representatives of the Armed Forces);

A. M. Sahay, Secretary (with ministerial rank);
Rash Behari Bose (Supreme Adviser);
Karim Gani, Debnath Das, D. M. Khan, A. Yellappa, J. Thivy, Sardar Ishar Singh (Advisers);

A. N. Sarkar (Legal Adviser).

Syonan, Oct. 21, 2603.



NETAJI AND HIS CABINET.

CHAPTER—XIX

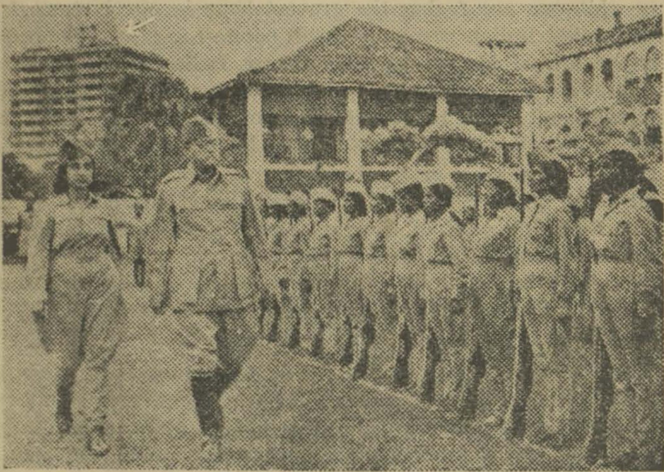
RANI OF JHANSI REGIMENT

The martial spirit of the Indian women in East Asia was roused when Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose called upon them to come forward in their thousands and follow the footsteps of Rani Lakshmibai of Jhansi and to take up arms against the British.

The occasion was the celebration of the birthday of the Rani of Jhansi and the opening of the first camp for the training of volunteers for the Rani of Jhansi Regiment at Singapore on Oct. 22. In an impassioned speech Netaji Subhas Bose recalled the heroic deeds of Rani Lakshmibai and Chand Bibi, and the deeds of daring and selfless sacrifice performed by the young women of India during the last twenty years in India.

The entire audience, composed mostly of women, young and old, rose to its feet and broke out into delirious cheering when Netaji called upon the Indian women to march shoulder to shoulder with their brothers of the Azad Hind Fauj and be ready to lay down their lives on the battle-field for the sake of India's Freedom.

Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose was received by Mrs. M. K. Chidambaram, the president of the Women's Section, Singapore. Netaji then inspected the guard-of-honour presented by an armed unit of the Rani of Jhansi Regiment in the company of Capt. Mrs. Lakshmi. The tri-colour national flag was hoisted by Netaji to the accompaniment of a national song.



Netaji, accompanied by Capt. Mrs. Lakshmi, inspecting a Guard of Honour provided by the Rani of Jhansi Regiment.

Declaring the camp open Netaji said:

Sisters and Brothers.—The opening of the Rani of Jhansi Regiment Training Camp is an important and significant function; it is a very important landmark in the progress of our Movement in East Asia.

To realise its importance, you should bear in mind that ours is not a merely political movement. We are, on the other hand, engaged in the great task of regenerating our Nation. We are in fact, ushering a New Life for the Indian Nation, and it is necessary that our New Life should be built on sound foundations. Remember that ours is not a propaganda stunt; we are in fact witnessing the re-birth of India. And it is only in the fitness of things that there should be a stir of New Life among our womenfolk.

Our past has been a great and glorious one. India could not have produced a heroine like the Rani of Jhansi if she did not have a glorious tradition. The history of the great women in India is as ancient as the Vedic Period. The greatness of Indian womanhood had its roots in those early days when India had its Sanskrit culture. The same India which produced great women in the past also produced the Rani of Jhansi at a grave hour in India's history. And to-day while we are facing the gravest hour in our history, I have confidence that Indian womanhood will not fail to rise to the occasion. If for the war of independence of Jhansi, India had to produce and it did produce a Lakshmi Bai, to-day for the war of Independence of the whole of India, to liberate 38 crores of Indians, India has to produce and shall produce thousands of Ranis of Jhansi.

In the same way as we have figures like Maitreyi in India's ancient days, we have the inspiring examples of Ahalyabai of Maharashtra, Rani Bhawani of Bengal, Razya Begum and Noor Jehan, who were shining administrators in recent historic times prior to British rule in India. I have every confidence in the fertility of the Indian soil. I am confident that India, as in the past, will also produce the best flowers of Indian womanhood.

When in 1921 a new political life started in India, thousands, nay lakhs, of our sisters also joined the movement and came forward to make sacrifices. In those days it was a great thing to go to prisons. Our Indian brothers and sisters got ready to undergo the ordeal of prison life and I remember still how in December 1921 at Calcutta the two jails were full. The Britishers built two more jails and these two were also packed in a few days.

When the Britishers found that the Indians were not restrained by fear of prison life, they changed their tactics. They resorted to the method of throwing leaders into prison and using lathis and bullets against the masses. Joining the Civil Disobedience Movement then meant willingness to face lathi charges and gun-fire and the Indians—not only men but also women—got ready to face lathi charges and gun-fire. I cannot forget an incident in Calcutta when we held a procession against the orders of the Government and when the police tried to break the procession by lathi charge, some of our sisters made a cordon around us (coming between us and the police), without flinching to face lathi charges. Thus, I have witnessed while in India how the spirit and determination of our sisters have been growing stage by stage.

Not only in the history of the Passive Resistance Movement but in the history of the Revolutionary Party also we have the examples

of our brave sisters who have played a noble part. I know of many sisters who became daring revolutionaries. If one type of courage was necessary for passive resistance, another and more active courage is necessary for revolutionary efforts, and in this too I found that our sisters were not wanting. In 1931 an English magistrate was shot by two girls; the age of one was 16, the age of the other was 17. In India even ordinary men will shudder before magistrates, but then two young sisters bravely went to the house of the magistrate and fired at him. You can easily imagine what wonderful courage those young sisters might have had. Such courage does not descend from the skies; it comes from the soil of India; it has its roots in the age-old traditions of India's past.

Since 1928, I have been taking interest in women's organisations in India and I found that, given the opportunity, our sisters could rise to any occasion. There was one Rastra Mahila Sangh of ladies in Bengal which did splendid work. In December 1928 a volunteer corps of 500 women was formed which was not only run on sound lines but their parades and their discipline gave us great hopes and confirmed my belief in the fact that, given the impetus and opportunity, Indian women could perform duties entrusted to them in a befitting manner. I have also seen women's organisations in India giving training in arms available in a slave country, like lathis and daggers and the way our sisters were progressing was remarkable.

And so when I began to undertake the task of guiding the Indian Independence Movement, I felt that our sisters should also be given the opportunity to serve India at this grave emergency. I consulted many and I was told by some that though to raise a women's regiment might be possible in India it would be an impossible task in East Asia. What they said did not affect my conviction and my determination. And to-day you have before your own eyes what our sisters have accomplished. Their work was started in July and if only now the Training Camp for them is being opened, the delay is not due to any shortcoming on their part. The delay was due to our difficulties in finding the accommodation and making the necessary arrangements. Meanwhile, I know that our sisters were getting impatient and anxious. I heard that they were intending to lead a deputation to me to ask me whether I have forgotten them. I feel happy to-day that the camp is ready and the camp is being opened to-day on the anniversary of the birthday of the Rani of Jhansi.

I may at this juncture say a few words about the Rani of Jhansi. When the Rani of Jhansi started her fight, her age was only

twenty. You can easily imagine what it would have been for a girl of twenty, riding a horse, and wielding her sword in open battle. You can easily realize what courage and spirit she must have had. The English Commander who fought against her said that "she was the best and bravest of the rebels." He made this admission because Jhansi Rani's bravery was something which he could not hide, for he himself had to fight against her. First she fought from the Jhansi Fort and when the fort was besieged, she escaped with a party to Kalpi from where she put up a fight. Then she had to retreat from this battlefront, she made an alliance with Tantia Topi, attacked and captured Gwalior Fort and using that Fort as the base continued the battle and in this last and great battle she died fighting.

Imagine what amount of courage would have been necessary to carry on the fight inspite of more than one defeat. Yet this 20 year old Rani had the courage and showed a valour which shall be a source of inspiration to Indians for generations to come.

Unfortunately, Jhansi Rani was defeated; it was not her defeat; it was the defeat of India. She died but her spirit can never die. India can once again produce Jhansi Ranis and march on to victory.

156 of our sisters are going to start their training in the Camp which is being opened to-day. But I hope that their number at Syonan will reach 1,000 very soon. Training Camps for women have also been started in Thailand and Burma but at Syonan we have the Central Camp and I feel that in this Central Camp we should at least have one thousand potential Ranis of Jhansi.

You have just now heard the brave words of the Commandant of the Rani of Jhansi Unit at Syonan. She expressed their determination to work ceaselessly day and night, to get prepared for the onward March to Delhi. I feel joyous at hearing that slogan "On to Delhi" from our sisters as I have been hearing it from our brothers.

With these words, I declare the Training Camp open. And I would appeal to all the delegates present to carry my message to their localities and to make every effort to realise the programme I have now laid before you.

CHAPTER—XX

PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT DECLARES WAR

The Headquarters of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind issued the following communique on the night of October 23:

The second meeting of the Council of Ministers of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind met at midnight at the official residence of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose on the 23rd and 24th October.

Advisers also attended the meeting.

The political, economic and military situation in India was again discussed and the following decisions were arrived at unanimously:

The Provisional Government of Azad Hind declares war on Britain and the United States of America.

The Provisional Government of Azad Hind places on record its deep appreciation of the message conveying the news of the recognition by the Imperial Government of Nippon of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind. The Provisional Government of Azad Hind expresses its grateful thanks to the Imperial Government of Nippon for the generous offer of wholehearted co-operation and assistance contained in the above message.

"The Provisional Government of Azad Hind declared war on Britain and America at 5 minutes past midnight last night" declared Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose addressing an audience of 50,000 Indians on the Padang opposite the stately Municipal Buildings of Syonan at 4 p.m. on Oct. 24.

The air was rent with shouts of "Inqilab Zindabad." "Azad Hind Zindabad" and "Netaji Ki Jai."

"We have declared war because our strength has increased a hundredfold," proclaimed Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose.

He declared: "I want you to demonstrate to the world that you are resolved as one man to follow up this declaration with action that will show to the world that you mean bloody war when you declare war. The British know very well that I say what I mean and that what I mean I say. So, when I say 'War' I mean WAR—War to the finish—a war that can only end in the Freedom of India.

"But I warn every one of you, to think very carefully before you raise your hand to pass this resolution of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind declaring war on Britain and America. If you too mean it, if you too are ready from this moment onward to sacrifice everything, all you have in this world and your lives to translate this declaration into action, if you mean to lay down your lives in the coming fight for India's freedom, then stand up and raise your hands," said Netaji Subhas Bose.

This was the signal for an outburst of frenzied demonstration. The audience of 50,000 rose to its feet, wild cheering broke out, fifty thousand throats shouted revolutionary slogans for full fifteen minutes without a break; where fifty thousand heads were seen a

few moments earlier, was now seen only a forest of bayonets, which stood about twelve feet from the ground, the men of the Azad Hind Fauj and Volunteers having spontaneously raised their rifles and rested the butt-ends on their shoulders; they stood there like that and shouted revolutionary slogans; the civilians standing behind them, men, women and children raised beth their hands and went on cheering their solemn assurance to Netaji; and on the 15-foot-high platform Netaji stood like a lion grim and determined, witnessing this feverish enthusiasm.

Then the crowds broke the cordon; in wave after wave they advanced towards the platform where Netaji was standing and cheered him until their throats went hoarse.

The following is Netaji's speech at the Mass Rally:

When I addressed you last on October 17th, on the occasion of our meeting to congratulate the Philippines on its achievement of Independence, I told you that Burma and the Philippines had become independent and that the next would be India's turn. To-day I feel joy in informing you that the turn of India has now come and the Provisional Government of Azad Hind has been established by us and recognised by the world.

When we look back at the succession of events which had slowly but steadily led to this important landmark in the history of our Independence Movement, we could clearly see that everything has been happening under the guidance and help of Providence. The will of God has been with us and if to-day the Provisional Government of Azad Hind stands established, it is a Government which has been declared to the world in the fulness of time and fitness of things.

With the beginning of the present War in Europe, our life-long enemies, the Britishers, received their first blows in the West and became weakened thereby. If they had continued to receive blows in the West only, the cause of Indian Independence could not have benefitted thereby. But when the Greater East Asia War started in the East, our enemies received greater blows and became more weakened by one defeat after another. More important and significant than their losses in the East was the fact that a new door—a door undreamt of by them—was opened in the East for the emancipation of India.

The British strategists had always expected a menace to India from the North Western Frontier; little did they envisage the possibility of an Army of Liberation marching into India from the North

Eastern Frontiers. They never dreamt of this possibility; nor were they prepared to defend an attack from this direction.

There is another interesting aspect of this question. Even supposing that the Britishers, suffering defeat after defeat in the West, had retreated up to the North Western Frontiers of India, even that would not have helped the cause of Indian Independence. Because there in Western Asia, we do not have any colony of Indians. On the other hand, Destiny had kept three millions of Indians in East Asia. And when the enemy was driven out of East Asia and the help of Asiatics was forthcoming, the material was there in these three millions of Indians for a real bid for Independence.

With the Britishers driven to North Eastern Frontiers of India —to the Indo-Burma borders—a golden opportunity thus arose for liberating India, and if the Indians in East Asia had not risen to the occasion, even that opportunity would have been lost. But the Indians in East Asia, I am glad to say, did not fail India at this great hour; they heard the call of the times and organised themselves into the Indian Independence League and started the formation of the Indian National Army. A retrospective survey of the events of the past few years clearly shows that Destiny had prepared the stage in an undreamt of way for the final war of Indian Independence. Things have happened steadily in the fulness of time and the fitness of things and who can deny when I say that by the grace of God, India's Hour has come, that India's turn to be free has come.

When I came to East Asia and took up the lead of this movement, my first objective was to re-organise and strengthen the Indian Independence League, and to reform and stabilise the Indian National Army.

In my address to you on the 15th August, I told you that I am determined to set my foot on the holy soil of India before the end of this year. I always mean what I say. Mine was not an empty declaration or a mere boast. Since then, our preparations have been continuing slowly but steadily. You will remember the Military Review which took place here on this maidan on July 9, and this morning you would have noticed that the Indian National Army which took part in the Review was far smaller than that of July last. I revealed in my address at the Military Review this morning that a considerable part of the Indian National Army had left Syonan already and that they were on the road to India. All our preparations have been proceeding in a satisfactory manner and recently it became necessary to take another and more important step, a decisive step in our march towards Independence.

The question would naturally arise as to what would be the leadership under which the Indian National Army would fight. And it was right time for us to clear our position. The world in general and Indians in particular had to be told under whose leadership the Indian National Army was going to fight and who would take over the territorial rights in India when the enemy is driven out. And so, at the right time, we established the Provisional Government of Azad Hind at the Conference of Indians in East Asia held on the 21st October.

If we had formed such a Government three years ago, the world would have called it a farce; and the enemy might have called it a propaganda stunt. But the Provisional Government having now risen as a natural sequence to the organisation of three millions of Indians in East Asia and the establishment of the powerful Indian National Army, even our enemies would have to think twice before calling it a propaganda stunt. The present Provisional Government of Azad Hind is not a plaything; it is a solid and powerful body having as its sanction the will of the three millions of Indians united as a granite wall by the Indian Independence League and having as its support the Indian National Army.

In forming this Government, we have made no innovations because it has always been part of the technique of revolution to declare a Provisional Government just on the eve of a final War of Independence. Many examples are available in history for the adoption of this method. We have, for instance, the case of the Czechs and the Irish as well as the case of Mustapha Kemal who formed a Provisional Government at Anatolia before the Turkish War of Independence. By taking this step on the 21st October, we have not only acted at the right time but we have also adopted the right method.

It is true that it would have been better if such a Provisional Government could have been established within the frontiers of India. But under the present circumstances it is not practical politics to have such an organisation like the Indian Independence League or such an armed force like the Indian National Army within the frontiers of India. And any Provisional Government declared within India without the proper organisation and armed strength would be a farce; it would be something which our enemies could suppress in no time. This being the truth, and taking all the factors into consideration, patriotic Indians cannot but come to the one and only conclusion that the only practical path for the achievement of our Independence is the path which we have now chosen.

In the proclamation of the establishment of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind on the 21st October, I have clearly defined the objectives and limits of this Government. We are not a Government like the ordinary administrations established in normal times; and hence, we have not followed the normal method nor have we opened departments which are essential only for the administration of a country in normal times. The first and foremost function of this Government is to wage the war of Independence and hence our Cabinet is primarily a War Cabinet.

Secondly, this Government would undertake to administer the liberated territories during the transitionary period only. We shall continue to function till the last Englishman is driven out of India, till India becomes independent and law, order and peace are restored in Free India and till a Permanent Government of Free India is set up according to the will of the thirty-eight crores of Indians in India. I appeal to you and to every Indian in East Asia to read the Proclamation issued by us on the 21st October and to understand fully the true significance of our Provisional Government.

I would also take this opportunity to emphasise that if a few have been elected as members of the Government, it does not mean that the vast majority are absolved of their duties or responsibilities. For the sake of administrative convenience and necessity, a few have been made members of the Government, but the responsibility of the Government lies equally on all the Indians in East Asia.

Those who have assumed functions in the new Government machinery have not assumed any grand positions; they have assumed in fact greater burdens and responsibilities. The path of this Government is not a path of roses and very soon this Government will have its trial on the battlefield. You must not think even for a moment that there has been any elevation of individual position.

If there has been any elevation of position, it has been that of India and the Indians. Who can say that by the formation of this Government and its recognition by the world, the status and position of the Indians have not increased in the eyes of the world? You must realise that this is your Movement and that this Government is your Government, and that your duties as members of the Indian Independence League have now increased ten-fold.

We have two great tasks before us. The first task is to make full and final efforts with a view to crossing the frontiers and setting foot on the holy soil of India before the end of this year. The second task is to continue our work and carry on our preparations for a

long war. The retreat of Britishers from India would mean the final destruction of the British Empire and so it is only natural that the British will try to cling to India with all their might.

It is not going to be an easy affair to drive the Britishers from India, but I am confident that once we are on the Indian soil we shall get the necessary help and strength from the Indians in India. The Indians in East Asia, however, should realise that their efforts must continue as ever till our final objectives are achieved.

I would once again reiterate that our programme of Total Mobilisation must be carried out with greater vigour as a sequel to the formation of our Provisional Government. I would once again repeat my appeal for Men, Money and Materials. It is the duty of the Indians in East Asia to see that there is a continuous stream of men, money and materials forthcoming till we achieve final victory.

I may say in this connection that my call for men to rally round the Colours has been receiving satisfactory response. The way young Indians in East Asia have come forward as volunteers and the way in which our sisters have responded to my call to form the Rani of Jhansi Regiment have been inspiring indeed.

And about the offer of money and materials, I may say here that the response from the poorer and middle classes has been encouraging. I have come across instances of the spirit of sacrifice among our poor brethren which would bring tears to the eyes of even a stone-hearted man. A washerman came to me and gave his "all" and further said that as he hailed from Jhansi he would like to march along with our sisters of the Rani of Jhansi Regiment as their washerman. A poor ill-clad Indian who was a barber came forward with 200 dollars which represented his savings for years and gladly offered it for the cause.

Especially moving are the sacrifices of our Gowala brethren. These brothers came, gave all the cash they had, all the cattle they possessed and offered themselves as Volunteers for the Indian National Army. The poorer classes have been showing by their actions and example the meaning of Total Mobilisation. It is only the rich who want to know whether Total Mobilisation means five or ten per cent of their savings. The poor have been spontaneously coming forward with their all and their own selves.

It is high time that the rich revolutionised their outlook. They should realise that when a Volunteer joins the ranks and goes to the front he does not ask whether he should spill five per cent or ten per cent of his blood. He goes to the front to spill every drop of

his blood. The life of one such volunteer is to me more precious than millions of dollars. What I would ask the rich to understand is that if they do not want to come forward to give their lives, they should at least come forward to give their possessions.

I have heard that some of the rich people have been saying that we are a nuisance and that the nuisance would be over when we leave Syonan on our march to India. I want them to know that though we may march, the Indian Independence League would still be here carrying on our "Home Front" programme while we are engaged on the fighting front. We cannot spare the rich; we cannot spare any Indian because ours is a life and death struggle and we are determined to carry on our fight to victory by all means and at any cost.

I have also said that some of our rich friends are thinking of changing their nationality to dodge the Indian Independence League's demand for funds. To these misguided friends, I have to say that there are only two alternatives before them; either they must become true Indians and do their duty at this hour of need or they must say that they are friends of Britain and be treated as such. In East Asia, there is no room for Britishers or their friends except in jails and the time is not far off when in India also their position will be the same. I hope there will soon be a re-orientation of outlook among the few rich Indians who have not satisfactorily responded to our call.

I shall now inform you of two very important decisions of the Cabinet of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind and place them before you for your ratification.

There was a time when the Britishers in their propaganda tried to ignore or belittle our Movement in East Asia. Now they have taken it seriously and for want of any other tactics they have resorted to abusing me from their radio stations. The tactic of abuse is the last refuge of the weak, of those who are at their wit's end.

But it is significant that the enemy has realised our strength and he understands that ours is not a mere propaganda stunt. The reactions and repercussions of the establishment of our Provisional Government has been world-wide and it will be no exaggeration if I say that it has created panic both in London and Washington.

The enemy radio stations were rather quick this time in flashing out the news of the formation of our Government through their broadcasts. Meanwhile, we have received the recognition of the Imperial Government of Nippon, and this, I must say, is a historic

event of tremendous importance. If this recognition was a solitary act without any precendent there could have been opportunity for people to question the *bona fides* of this gesture. But, fortunately, this has not come as an innovation. This has come as one of the corollaries of Nippon's Asiatic policy based on justice and equality. The world has heard of this policy; it has already heard of the independence of Burma and then of the Philippines and so the recognition of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind has come as the natural result of this policy.

The Anglo-Americans have been proclaiming from their house-tops that they were the champions of Liberty and Democracy but their actions have repeatedly given the lie to their claims. Apart from their determination to maintain their hold on India, they have enslaved independent countries like Iraq and Iran. They have been and are trying to enslave free Burma.

In contrast to this, we have the action of Nippon in recognising Independent Burma, Independent Philippines and now the Provisional Government of Independent India. Our Nippon friends have always been showing us every sympathy and now, by this recognition, they have rendered us the greatest moral assistance for which we are greatly thankful. And so, the Council of Ministers of Azad Hind have unanimously passed a resolution deeply appreciating this gesture of Nippon. I place their resolution before you for your ratification.

" The Provisional Government of Azad Hind (Free India) places on record its deep appreciation of the message conveying the news of the recognition by the Imperial Government of Nippon of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind. The Provisional Government of Azad Hind expresses its grateful thanks to the Imperial Government of Nippon for the generous offer of wholehearted co-operation and assistance contained in the above message."

Our thanks are due to Premier General Tojo for his great interest in Indian Independence. We have to thank also Colonel Yamamoto, the Chief of the Hikari Kikan, for his co-operation, especially in the establishment of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind.

The next Resolution which was unanimously adopted by my Council is a more important one. The Council after discussing the political, economic and military situations in India came to the unanimous conclusion that the hour has struck for the declaration of war against Britain and America by the Provisional Government of Free India.

Last night at 12.55 a.m., we declared war through the radio and it is interesting to note that at 2 a.m. the enemy radio stations also gave out the news of our Declaration of War. This shows how alert they are in watching what steps we are taking. The Britishers know me well enough during my fight against them in India and they know well enough also that I will not make a declaration without having the strength to enforce what I say. Our declaration is not again a propaganda stunt. The coming events would show that we meant what we said.

Before I place our resolution declaring war on Britain and America before you for your ratification, I would ask you to realise its implications and to give your decision after full consideration.

Our Declaration, I repeat, is not an empty threat. We are resolved to carry it out with the last drop of our blood. And when I ask you to ratify it, I do not want to have the resolution carried in a formal ceremonial way. Your ratification would mean that you are as much resolved as we are to shed your last drop of blood in enforcing the Declaration. I know that I need not put this question to the Indian National Army because I know their mind and their deep anxiety to be on the Road to Delhi. I am now asking the Civilians as to whether they are one with us in making this Declaration because if they are one with us they should come forthwith to give the fullest effect to our Programme of Total Mobilisation.

Friends! I want you to realise that we are now taking part in a meeting which is not a propaganda show; this is not a ceremonial affair. We are here at a historic meeting to decide on a life and death issue. If we succeed in the project thirty eight crores of Indians will be free. If, on the other hand, as God forbid, we fail, for at least another century our Nation will be doomed to slavery and untold misery. I have told you at the outset how the hand of God has created this golden opportunity for us. I have shown you how we have moved from stage to stage and how we have reached the right opportunity to strike at our enemy. I have told you how we now have the organisation, the Army and the Provisional Government of Azad Hind recognised by the World and how we have secured every help and support. Are we going to fail India at this great hour in her history?

Realise all these things consider deeply all the implications of a Declaration of War and if you decide to take the war path, if you feel in your heart of hearts ready to face anything and everything in the historic fight against the British, if you feel that you

are ready to give body, soul and all to fight our enemy until victory is won, then rise and give your ratification to our War Declaration by your acclamation.

This was the signal for an out-burst of frenzied demonstrations. The audience of 50,000 rose to its feet, wild cheering broke out, fifty thousand throats shouted revolutionary slogans for full fifteen minutes without a break.

The crowds broke the cordon; in wave after wave they advanced towards the platform where Netaji was standing and cheered him until their throats went hoarse.

Netaji continued:

Friends! My joy and pride knows no bounds at having witnessed the outburst of enthusiasm and spirit of resolution in you, and your thirst for Independence. With this spirit permeating the hearts of the Indians in East Asia there could only be one sequel to our Declaration of War. And that is a fight which cannot fail to end in victory and with this demonstration of the united will and unified spirit of the Indian Nation, it may be an easy victory over our enemies. The meeting is now over and I would appeal to you to calm yourselves and to return to your homes, resolved forthwith to make every effort to bring our war to a victorious conclusion.

I would, lastly, call upon you to give three cheers, for Revolution, for Free India and for the Government of Nippon. (Cheers).

The Board of Information, Tokyo, on October 23, announced the Nippon Government's recognition of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind. The announcement was as follows:

" The Provisional Government of Free India, having been established with Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose as the Head, the Nippon Government in its firm belief that it is a great forward step toward the realization of an independent India for which the Indian people have long aspired, has recognized it as the Provisional Government of Free India and hereby declares its intention to extend every possible co-operation and support in the Provisional Government's efforts to attain its object."

The following telegram was received by Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, from His Excellency Premier General Hideki Tojo:—

" Your Excellency:—I have the honour of sending you my hearty congratulations on the establishment of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind which has been Your Excellency's long cherished desire and thereby dashing forward to expel the British influence to

attain the everlasting prosperity of India. The Nippon Government is firmly determined to render every possible co-operation to your Government.

"I take this opportunity to offer my best wishes for the successful and prosperous future of your Government and pray for your good health."

At the 83rd session of the Imperial Diet which met on Oct. 26, in Tokyo, Premier Gen. Hideki Tojo made the following reference to India in his speech:

"Turning to India, we find her 400,000,000 people still under Britain's ruthless heel and, with the ambition of the United States recently added to that pressure, they are continuing to experience indescribable miseries. The cruel rule of Britain and the outrageous conduct of the Anglo-American forces have further intensified the friction and antagonism between them and the Indian people, thus creating a profound social confusion accompanying an unprecedentedly great famine. The grave situation, which is becoming aggravated day by day and month by month, is admitted even by Britain and the United States themselves.

"With many Indian patriots thrown into prison by the British and millions of innocent people thrown into agonies of starvation, the conditions in India at present are indeed tragic and the object of common grievance of all humanity. Such a situation we can by no means leave to take its own course. At this very juncture, Indians who hold their motherland close to their hearts have risen in unity under the leadership of the great patriot Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose and on the twenty-first of this month, the Provisional Government of Free India was established. Thereupon, Nippon proceeded to recognize that government on the 23rd.

"It is truly a great pleasure for us to declare to the world through this chamber that Nippon is determined to support that government consistently in the future and to put forth her utmost efforts for the independence and emancipation of India.

"The complete independence and freedom of India and the lasting prosperity of the 400,000,000 Indian people are what Nippon sincerely desires. I have not the slightest doubt that in this purpose Nippon may count not only upon the wholehearted co-operation of all Greater East Asia peoples but also meet the earnest desire of all high-minded peoples throughout the world.

"It is my strong conviction that this rising tide of the movement for India's emancipation with the active co-operation of the peoples

of Greater East Asia will inevitably bring, in the not distant future, the glorious day of independence and prosperity to India."

In a statement on the speech by Premier General Hideki Tojo Netaji Bose declared:

"The historic utterance of His Excellency the Premier of Nippon, General Tojo, at the extraordinary meeting of the Diet held on Oct. 25th will bring joy and inspiration to the hearts of Indians all over the world. This utterance has special importance since it is the first public declaration of the Premier of Nippon after the recognition of the Provisional Government of Free India by his Government.

"The first speech of His Excellency represents a fitting climax to a series of soul-inspiring pronouncements on the Indian question since the fall of Singapore last year. The Indian people owe a special debt of gratitude to him for the personal interest in and sympathy for Indian Independence that he has consistently cherished and demonstrated.

"I am confident that Indian people will give practical proof of this gratitude on the field of battle."

GERMANY

The Reich Foreign Minister, Herr Von Ribbentrop, officially notified Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, by telegram, that the Reich Government was extending its recognition to the newly formed Provisional Government of Azad Hind.

BURMA

On 25th October information was received in Syonan that the Independent State of Burma recognised the Provisional Government of Azad Hind.

PHILIPPINES

The Philippine Republic's recognition of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind was conveyed to Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, Head of the Provisional Government of Free India, by Jose P. Laurel, President of the Republic of the Philippines, in the following message:—

"The Philippine Government and people have learned with profound gratification the establishment of the Provisional Government of Free India under your leadership in the firm belief that the freedom of India is essential to a new world order based on justice. The Philippine Government is pleased to recognise your Government and sincerely hopes to see established a new free and independent India as befitting the race that has made one of the greatest contributions to human civilization."

CROATIA

On October 27 the Government of Croatia extended its formal recognition to the Provisional Government of Free India.

CHINA

It was officially announced at Nanking on Nov. 1 that the National Government of China extended recognition to the Provisional Government of Free India.

The following is the text of the telegram from the Foreign Minister of the National Government of China to Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, recognising the Provisional Government of Azad Hind:

"Your Excellency, learning through the Nippon Embassy in Nanking that a Provisional Government has been established on October 21 under Your Excellency's leadership, I have the honour, on behalf of the National Government, to extend formal recognition and sincere congratulations on the determination of your government to participate in the war and the reconstruction of Greater East Asia, and to place the Indian people in a position of realising their long-cherished aspirations and of contributing to final victory. With assurance of my highest consideration, Tsu Min Yee, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the National Government of China."

MANCHOUKUO

It was officially announced on the same day in Hsinking that Manchoukuo formally recognized the Provisional Government of Free India.

ITALY

The Provisional Government of Free India was formally recognized by the Fascist Republic of Italy on Nov. 9.

THAILAND

The Government of Thailand officially recognised the Provisional Government of Azad Hind, it was announced over the Bangkok radio on the night of Nov. 18.

Thus the Provisional Government of Free India was recognised by Nippon, Germany, Burma, the Philippines, Croatia, the National Government of China, Manchoukuo, the Fascist Republic of Italy and Thailand.

CHAPTER—XXI

NETAJI AT THE ASSEMBLY OF GREATER EAST ASIA NATIONS

The Japanese Board of Information in a communique on the afternoon of Oct. 31 announced that Subhas Chandra Bose, head of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind, arrived at Tokyo.

The communique textually was as follows:

" For the purpose of expressing gratitude to Nippon Government for the recognition and co-operation extended to his Government Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose, head of the Provisional Government of Free India, came to Tokyo to-day."

It was understood that during his sojourn in Nippon Netaji Bose would exchange views with Premier Hideki Tojo and other Nippon Government leaders on various problems, including future co-operation between Nippon Government and the Provisional Government of Free India.

Upon arrival at Haneda Airport, Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose was warmly welcomed by prominent Nippon officials including Foreign Minister Mamoru Shigemitsu, Greater East Asiatic Affairs Minister Kazuo Aoki, and President of the Board of Information, Eiji Amau, as well as leading members of the Tokyo Chapter of the Indian Independence League.

Netaji was accompanied by a party of seven, including Lieut.-Col. J. K. Bhonsle, Chief of Staff of the Supreme Command and Minister without Portfolio; A. M. Sahay, Minister without Portfolio and Chief of the Cabinet Secretariat; Lieut.-Col. D. I. Raju, attached to the Supreme Command; and A. Hassan, Private Secretary. Upon stepping from the plane Netaji exchanged greetings with the Nippon leaders. After the exchange of greetings, Netaji and party left the airport amid rousing cheers to the residence of Viscount Keizo Shibuzawa.

Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose made an official call on Premier General Hideki Tojo at 11.20 a.m. on Nov. 1 and took leave after remaining in conversation for 40 minutes.

Foreign Minister Mamoru Shigemitsu gave a dinner in honour of Subhas Chandra Bose at his official residence on Nov. 2.

In the course of his speech welcoming the guest of honour the Foreign Minister declared: " Now that we are comrades devoted to the same cause of emancipating and enhancing Asia, we pledge to join forces to fight this war through until ultimate victory rewards our common efforts."

He added, "Light comes from the East. When dawn breaks the sun may climb slowly, but as the star-spangled sky grows dim, the eastern window becomes bright with the gathered beams of the rising sun. India is now awaiting the sunrise. The grey dawn that now envelops the Indian horizon will soon break into full daylight."

The Foreign Minister stressed that since the days when Mr. Bose struggled to regain India's freedom under the most difficult conditions "conditions have now been radically changed."

He pointed out that Anglo-Saxon imperialism had been entirely wiped out from East Asia, while the victorious forces of Nippon now stood at India's borders. He asserted that all Asia "is now seething and stirring with the desire and determination to assert its own destiny" with the result that Indians' inspiration for independence had received added impetus.

Responding to the Foreign Minister's address, Netaji Bose declared the reawakening of Nippon to the dangers of foreign aggression, to which some Asiatic nations had fallen prey, and Nippon's brilliant victories achieved in this war of Greater East Asia, had started the whole of East Asiatic nations on the way to complete freedom.

Expressing gratitude for Nippon's steps taken to liberate the whole of Asia, and the generous assistance offered, Netaji Bose stressed the "crowning act of friendship, co-operation, and assistance has been the recognition of our Provisional Government."

"Only when our blood flows and mingles together in pursuit of the common cause will the unity—real, lasting unity—of Asia be created," he concluded.

At the invitation of Premier Tojo Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose attended the Assembly of the Greater East Asia Nations in the afternoon of Nov. 6. In a stirring 20-minute address before the Assembly, Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose voiced deep gratitude for the unanimous pledge of sympathetic assistance by East Asiatic nations to the Indian Independence movement, and declared this support had provided a tremendous stimulus to all Indians. He promised that a decisive battle against Britain to free India would be launched in the near future.

Netaji then pointed out the marked difference between the current assembly and international conferences held in the past. He emphasized that the Assembly of Greater East Asiatic Nations represented a spectacularly marked departure from other conferences in that it was based on mutual aid and respect for the independence and sovereignty of all participating member nations.



NETAJI ADDRESSING THE ASSEMBLY OF GREATER EAST ASIA NATIONS.

He asserted it was only natural that Nippon should have convened the Assembly in as much as Nippon was the pivotal influence in East Asia, and pointed out that other Asiatic races had looked to Nippon as liberator ever since the days of the Russo-Nipponese War.

Turning to India's present plight. Netaji stated that India's subjugation by Europeans was originally started by errors made centuries ago. He stressed that Indians to-day realized this fact and they also realized that there was no room for a compromise with Britain. He declared the only way India could win its independence was to fight Britain and come out victorious.

Netaji spoke of the thousands of Indians who were dying to-day of starvation. With sudden emphasis he disclosed that the Indian National Army was to-day poised for its advance to Delhi.

Netaji next expressed his deepest wishes for the successful establishment of Greater East Asia and for the completion of Nippon's great work of construction. He pointed out that the Greater East

Asia joint declaration was a declaration of liberation of East Asia—the Magna Charta of 1943 which would live forever in world history.

He concluded by reiterating his determination to exert his utmost efforts to drive out Britain from India and bring about early materialization of the establishment of Free India.

Nippon was ready shortly to transfer the Andaman and Nicobar Islands to the Provisional Government of Free India headed by Subhas Chandra Bose, declared Premier General Hideki Tojo in response to the speech delivered by Netaji at the Assembly.

Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose was granted audience at the Phoenix Hall in the Imperial Palace at 10.30 a.m. on Nov. 10 by Tenno Heika (Emperor of Japan).

In the audience Tenno Heika was pleased to honour Netaji Bose with words of sympathetic appreciation for the latter's efforts to attain Indian Independence.

Following Imperial audience Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose issued the following statement:

"Tenno Heika was gracious enough to receive me in audience this morning as Head of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind. That was the highest honour that India, and I personally, could receive. I have renewed my determination to fight shoulder to shoulder with Tenno Heika's Government, Army and Navy, till the bitter end, until our common victory is achieved. The memory of this reception in audience by Tenno Heika will remain engraved in my memory for all time."

Netaji Subhas Bose and his party were honoured at a luncheon party on Nov. 15 given by Mitsuru Toyama, noted Nippon patriot.

Rash Behari Bose, Supreme Adviser to the Provisional Government, was also a guest at the function. The party was attended by more than 40 notables including General Shigeru Honjo, President of the Military Welfare Board of the Welfare Ministry, and Yoshihisa Kuzuu, Director of the Imperial Rule Assistance Association.

On Nov. 18 Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose arrived at Nanking on his return journey. As soon as he arrived in the morning he worshipped at the Chungshan Mausoleum where the ashes of the late Dr. Sun Yat-sen, "Father of Modern China," repose. Later he made a courtesy call on President Wang Ching-wei. At noon he was guest-of-honour at a luncheon given by President Wang and attended by other high officials of the National Government of China. In the afternoon, Netaji paid a courtesy call on General Shunroku Hata, Commander-in-Chief of the Nippon forces in China, at the latter's headquarters and also on Nippon Ambassador Masayuki Tani at the

Nippon Embassy. After calling on the German as well as Manchoukuo Embassies, Netaji Bose received return calls by General Hata and Ambassador Tani at the Government's Guest Hall.

At 8.30 p.m. Netaji was guest at a banquet given by Foreign Minister Chu Min-yi.

Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, at 10.00 a.m. on Nov. 19, received return visits from Dr. Ernest Woermann, German Ambassador to Nanking, and Lu Yung-huan, Manchoukuo Ambassador to Nanking, at the Guest Hall.

At 11.00 Netaji attended the Nanking citizens' welcome meeting held in his honour at the National Public Hall.

China and India should join hands for crushing Britain and the United States in order to attain complete Greater East Asiatic freedom, declared Netaji, at the welcome rally. He called on Chiang Kai-shek and other leaders to shake off Anglo-American influence and do their utmost for the unification of China, the gaining of Indian independence and the complete emancipation of Greater East Asia.

Referring to the visit of Madam Chiang to India last year to ask Indian leaders to co-operate with the Indian Government, Netaji Bose declared that if Chiang Kai Shek actually desired the independence of China he should not have asked Indians to co-operate with their oppressors, who had enslaved 388 million Indians. Netaji stressed that China and India should both fight for the freedom and liberation of Greater East Asia.

Netaji Bose recalled that in 1939, when he was the President of the Indian National Congress, he sent a medical mission to Chungking as an expression of India's sympathy and goodwill.

Netaji Bose added, " Chungking should not take up arms against Indians, but should fight side by side with India against the common enemy, because China will never prosper under Anglo-American control." He recalled that Dr. Sun Yat-sen was an ardent supporter of India and a torch-bearer for a United East Asia.

Following the mass meeting, he was guest of honour at a luncheon party given by Masayuki Tani, Nippon Ambassador to China.

At 3.00 p.m. Netaji conferred with President Wang Ching-wei at the latter's official residence and at 4.30 with Dr. Ernst Woermann. In the evening, he was guest of honour at a dinner party tendered by General Shunroku Hata, Commander-in-Chief of the Nippon forces in China.

Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, who visited Nanking and Shanghai after attending the Assembly of Greater East Asiatic Nations in

Tokyo, arrived at Manila by air at 3.15 p m. on Nov. 22. He was greeted at the airport by President Jose P. Laurel, Ambassador Shozo Murata, Lieut.-General Shigenori Kuroda, C-in-C. of the Nippon forces in the Philippines, and other high officials of the Philippine Government.

Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose called on President Jose P. Laurel at the Malacanan, expressing congratulations on the birth of the new Republic of the Philippines. In the evening Netaji received representatives of the Indian residents at the Malacanan where he stayed during his visit.

He was guest at a dinner given in his honour by President Laurel at Malacanan in the evening. The dinner was attended by Ministers of State, Nippon Ambassador Shozo Murata and other distinguished Filipino, Nippon and Indian leaders.

"British imperialism is dead; however, the United States is succeeding and replacing it in all its mercilessness and injustice," warned Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose in an address delivered at the dinner.

"The world must choose between the perpetuation of this imperialism or establishment of a new world based on justice and equality," Netaji declared. "To compromise with British imperialism is to compromise with slavery because it always oppressed peoples economically, politically and socially." Regarding the rise of American imperialism, Netaji asserted, "We must be aware of this new menace and prevent its tentacles from spreading."

Recalling that in the past Asiatic peoples, including Indians, had looked up to the United States, He said, "But now we know the American colonial policy is actually a menace to smaller nations."

Urging total sacrifice on the part of all East Asians, he declared, "I have always been a determined and consistent fighter against oppression. As individuals we do not matter. We will die soon enough. We must die but we must strive to make our nation live forever."

He recalled that the United States imperialism formerly only covered the political field; however, it has expanded to include social and economic fields as well.

Hailing the convention of the Assembly of Greater East Asiatic Nations in Tokyo recently, Netaji said, "It marked the realization of my dream to see East Asiatic nations together."

Stressing the Indian determination to fight to the last, Netaji said, "Indians are fully prepared to die in order to salvage our

country. We must die because he who lives for India is he who dies for India. We are prepared for a long and bitter struggle."

Expressing profound thanks to his host, Netaji said, "I am grateful to Your Excellency, the Government and people of the Philippines and wish everlasting freedom and prosperity to your Republic."

Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose on his way back to Syonan from Nippon arrived at Saigon at 1.30 p.m. on Nov. 24 from Manila. After a brief rest at the Nippon Hotel, Netaji paid courtesy visits to local commanders of the Nippon Army and Naval Forces.

In the evening, he attended a banquet given in his honour by the Nippon Minister, Shigenori Tashiro. Later Netaji Bose addressed a mass rally of local Indian residents at which he exhorted his compatriots to join in the crusade to liberate their motherland from British shackles.

Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose returned to the Headquarters of the Provisional Government on Nov. 25.

CHAPTER—XXII

INDIAN NATIONAL ARMY IN ACTION

A meeting of the Council of Ministers of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind was held at the official residence of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose on 9th December, 1943, when the Advisers were also present. The Council of Ministers discussed and adopted, with certain alterations, the reports of two Cabinet Sub-Committees, namely, one on the rewards, decorations, and pensions to be granted to the Azad Hind Fauj warriors who would be taking part in the coming operations, and the other on the plan of National Unification.

The Council of Ministers provided liberally for the families and dependents of the Azad Hind Fauj warriors who might be killed, wounded, or disabled in the coming campaign. The Council of Ministers also decided that, in the case of Indian Officers and men serving in the British Indian Army, their previous service should be taken into account for purposes of pension etc., provided they came over to the Azad Hind Fauj during the campaign.

The recommendations of the Cabinet Sub-Committee on National Unification, as adopted by the Council of Ministers, ensured the unification of the Indian Nation, irrespective of differences of caste, creed and religion.

The Council of Ministers decided that Hindustani shall be the common language of India. "Jai Hind" (Victory for India) shall be the common greeting and salutation between Indians. The present Tricolour shall be the National Flag of India, the song beginning with the words "Sudh Sukh Chai" shall be India's National Song; the Tiger will be India's National Emblem; "Chalo Delhi" will be the National War Cry till the successful conclusion of the Revolution; and "Azad Hind Zindabad," "Inquilab Zindabad," and "Netaji Ki Jai" will be the National Slogans till the victorious conclusion of the Revolution.

The plan for National Unification in the matter of food, dress, etc., was under the active consideration of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind. This plan for National Unification was to be introduced first among the Indians in East Asia.

Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose visited South Sumatra on Dec. 10, 1943. Acknowledging the Indians' pledge to give unswerving support to the Azad Hind Fauj in men and material, Netaji delivered a stirring address at a mammoth rally held at Palembung by his compatriots living in all parts of South Sumatra.

In the course of his speech, Netaji Bose thanked the Indians for their absolute support and loyalty to the newly formed Government and stressed the imminence of the Indian crusade to rid their Motherland of British influence once and for all.

"With such unflinching determination on the part of my compatriots in every corner of Greater East Asia, and with the help of our Nippon friends, the success of our forthcoming march into Delhi and the eventual emancipation of the suffering millions cannot fail," Netaji said.

Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose visited Andaman Islands on December 29 and immediately paid a courtesy-call on the Commander-in-Chief of the Nippon Army forces in Port Blair and expressed thanks for the support of the Nippon Army for the cause of the Indian independence movement as well as the creation of the Provisional Government.

Later Netaji visited the headquarters of the Nippon Military Administration and heard a detailed report on administrative activities in the islands. He also visited Ross Island.

In the evening Netaji was guest at a dinner given by the Commander-in-Chief of the Nippon Army forces and spent the night at the former official residence of the British Governor.



Netaji looking towards India across the Indian Ocean during his visit to the Andamans.

The next morning Netaji attended a grand rally in Port Blair. At the outset of the rally the Indian flag was hoisted personally by Netaji while the Indian national anthem was being sung. In the course of his address Netaji declared that the Andamans were liberated from the British yoke by Nippon, which was the leader of Asia. "These islands in the near future will become Indian territory. Entry into Delhi at the cost of our blood or to fight our way to death in the present struggle for independence are the only two ways to repay Nippon's sincerity and friendship toward India,"

Netaji said. Concluding he exhorted all Indians in the Andamans to "follow either of these two courses."

Netaji thanked Mr. Ramakrishna chairman of the Indian Independence League, Mr. Durga Parshad, vice-chairman and Nawab Ali for their loyal support.

Colonel (later Major-General) Loganadan, a Minister of the Provisional Government, was appointed the first Chief Commissioner of the Andamans (re-named Shaheed=Martyrs) and Nicobar (re-named Swaraj) Islands.

After his visit to the Andaman Islands Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose arrived in Burma on Jan. 7, 1944. The Headquarters of the Provisional Government of Free India and the Supreme Command of the Indian National Army were also shifted to Burma, which was to be the springboard for the operations of the Army of Liberation.

"Indians at home would be thrilled to hear that Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose has moved his Headquarters to within a few hours flight to Calcutta." This was the comment made by Mr. S. A. Ayer, Minister of Publicity and Propaganda of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind, on the official announcement that the Headquarters of the Free India Government had been moved to Burma. "This is one more decisive step in Netaji's irresistible advance towards India and the British citadel in Delhi," the Minister said.

"Netaji now stands at the eastern gates of India at the head of the Indian National Army. This Army of Liberation impatiently awaits his word of command to fire the shot that will open the campaign; the report of that shot will echo and re-echo throughout the length and breadth of India; and that will be the signal for an India-wide uprising against the British; only the unimaginative British can be blind to their present perilous position in India," Mr. Ayer asserted.

Continuing, he stressed that the millions of Netaji's followers all over India were fully aware of his hurricane activities since his arrival in East Asia six months ago; they had heard every one of his momentous utterances over the radio from Tokyo, Syonan Bangkok and Rangoon; they knew that he had established the Provisional Government of Free India, the Headquarters of which had now moved to Burma; they knew that Netaji had moved units of the Indian National Army to within striking distance of the British bases in Eastern India; thus Netaji's followers in India were fully aware that the stage was now set for the final showdown.

Indomitable and fighting determination to liberate India was the keynote of the fiery one-hour address by Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose given on Jan. 11 afternoon before troops of the Indian National Army which advanced into Burma along with the Provisional Government of Free India.

With the sweeping march to Delhi imminent, Netaji Bose reminded his soldiers again that 3,000,000 Indians in East Asia as well as the 380,000,000 Indians in India and powerful Axis nations stood firmly and solidly behind them. He pointed in particular to the warm and wholehearted welcome given him by various allied nations of Greater East Asia whom he visited on his way back from the historic Assembly of Greater East Asiatic Nations.

Netaji stressed that the Indian National Army must be prepared to exert its utmost efforts to realize India's independence in order to fulfil the hopes and aspirations of all Indians as well as repay Greater East Asiatic nations for their all-out support and sympathy.

In the morning Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, accompanied by Capt. Lakshmi, head of the women's organization of the Provisional Government of Free India, inspected the Indian women's corps.

Impressed by the intensive training carried on by the corps. Netaji Bose encouraged women members to continue to fight for the achievement of the ultimate goal of liberating India from the Anglo-Americans.

Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose and members of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind were guests at a grand reception accorded to them in Rangoon by the Government of Free Burma on Jan. 23. Speakers at the reception included, besides Netaji himself, the Foreign Minister and the Minister of Defence.

Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose declared, " It is impossible to find words that can give adequate expression to my feelings of gratitude or express my thanks for Burma's official recognition of the Provisional Government and the hospitality so generously offered, and also the unfailing sympathy and support given by Burma to the Indian independence movement." Netaji gave the solemn assurance that Free India would never forget Burma's good deeds.

On Feb. 4, 1944, the Indian National Army went into action and started its offensive against the British forces in the Arakan regions. Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose issued the following Special Order of the Day on Feb. 9:

" The eyes of the whole world are now focussed on the Arakan front, where events of far-reaching importance are taking place to-

day. The glorious and brilliant actions of the brave units of the Azad Hind Fauj working in close concert with the forces of the Imperial Nipponese Army have helped to foil all attempts by the Anglo-American forces to start a counter-offensive in this sector.

"I am sure that the brave deeds of our comrades on the Arakan front will be a source of great inspiration to all the Officers and men of the Azad Hind Fauj wherever they may be stationed at the present moment. Our long-awaited March to Delhi has begun, and with grim determination we shall continue that march until the tri-colour National Flag that is now flying over the Arakan mountains is hoisted over the Viceregal Lodge and until we hold our victory parade at the ancient Red Fortress of Delhi.

"Comrades! Officers and men of India's Army of Liberation, Let there be but one solemn resolve in your hearts—either liberty or death. And let there be but one slogan on your lips—Onward to Delhi. The road to Delhi is the road to freedom. That is the road along which we must march. Victory will certainly be ours."

Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose received the following congratulatory message from Mamoru Shigemitsu, Nippon Foreign Minister:

"Your Excellency: Allow me to tender to Your Excellency my heartfelt congratulations upon the splendid achievements of your gallant troops who have demonstrated their prowess in fighting shoulder to shoulder with the Nippon forces. I feel keenly delighted on the new successful development in the present campaign, as it will, I trust, instil fresh courage and confidence into the hearts of all Indian people who are inspired by your superb leadership and are rallying to the cause of vindication, which is no other than the harbinger of Asia's renaissance.

"With very best wishes, Mamoru Shigemitsu, Foreign Minister of Nippon."

On Feb. 21, the Headquarters of the Supreme Command of the Azad Hind Fauj issued its first communique as follows:

"Latest information received from the Arakan front, reporting further successes achieved by our units, shows that the Indian National Army participating in the operations in the Akyab district are pushing into enemy positions in co-operation with the main forces of the Nippon Army.

"Meanwhile, advance units of the Indian National Army, who in concert with the Nippon forces are now engaged in cutting off the enemy's retreat near Nyaunggyang, have destroyed bridges in

that area and have advanced into the Bawli Bazaar district where they are now operating.

"Another unit of the Indian National Army, which has been pushing forward along the Mayu River since the commencement of operations, has succeeded in bringing over to our side an Indian unit of the British Indian Army. The number of officers and soldiers of this unit will not be disclosed for the time being.

"The same Indian National Army unit has penetrated into the Taung Bazaar area, from where it is now pushing forward into the enemy's rear and is steadily gaining the desired war results.

"The main forces of the Azad Hind Fauj in the Akyab sector are preparing for further operations, according to plan."

Advancing with lightning speed, the forces of India's Liberation continued their victorious campaign on all sectors of the Indo-Burma front.

From the northernmost sector of the Burma front down to the coastal plains south of the Arakan range, the combined forces of the Indian National Army and the Imperial Nipponese Army, inflicted further defeats on the British forces.

In the Manipur area, which is the main centre of the Indo-Nipponese campaign, the British suffered terrible losses in men and materials and had been forced to yield considerable ground. In more than one sector the British had been totally routed and, according to the admissions made by the British themselves, they had "taken up new positions" because of "stiff enemy resistance."

The battle for Imphal, important enemy base and capital of the State of Manipur, reached its decisive stage, following the capture by Indian forces of the two vital centres, Ukhrul and Sanghak. These places formed a vital junction in the defence of Imphal and the British loss of these important centres had rendered it virtually impossible for them to hold out at Imphal for any length of time. The frontline despatches stated that Indian forces were within fifteeen miles of Imphal.

On March 22, 1944, the "Azad Hind," organ of the Indian Independence League Headquarters at Singapore, flashed on its front page the most sensational and joyful news of the entry of the Indian National Army into India.

Announcing this news Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose issued the following momentous proclamation on March 21 from an undisclosed place in Burma:


UNITY... FAITH... SACRIFICE

AZAD HIND

ENGLISH EDITION

I. N. A. ENTERS INDIA

FIGHTING NOW ON INDIAN SOIL

NETAJI'S PROCLAMATION

Huge Offensive Now Underway

Nippon & Indian Forces Carry Out Annihilative Push

BRITISH ENEMY IS DOOMED NOW SAYS R.B. BOSE

Netaji In Clarion Call To Indians At Home & In East Asia

"The Indian National Army under the leadership of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind and the Imperial Nippon Army, working in the closest co-operation, and fighting shoulder to shoulder, have set out on a sacred mission. At this momentous hour when the allied armies of India and Nippon are crossing the frontier and marching into India, the Provisional Government of Azad Hind makes the following proclamation:

"Since the bloody war of 1857 when the armies of India were defeated in battle by the invading forces of Britain, the Indian people have never morally surrendered to the British. In spite of inhuman persecution, and in spite of forcible disarmament, they have continued their resistance to British domination. Through propaganda and agitation, through acts of terrorism and sabotage, through armed revolution, and in recent years through satyagraha or passive resistance initiated by Mahatma Gandhi—they have not only kept up the struggle for independence but have also advanced a long way toward the goal of freedom.

"Since the outbreak of the present war, all attempts have been made by the Indian people and their leaders for the achievement of liberty through peaceful settlement with Britain. But all these at-

tempts have failed. Moreover, Britain has, in the course of this war, strengthened her stranglehold over India through ruthless exploitation and brutal suppression, and has converted India into a gigantic military base for prosecuting her imperialistic war.

"In pursuance of this policy, foreign troops—namely Australian, American, Chinese and Negro troops—have been imported into India, and owing to the unbearable burden thrown on the shoulders of the already impoverished Indian masses, famine conditions of an unprecedented nature have broken out in large areas of the country.

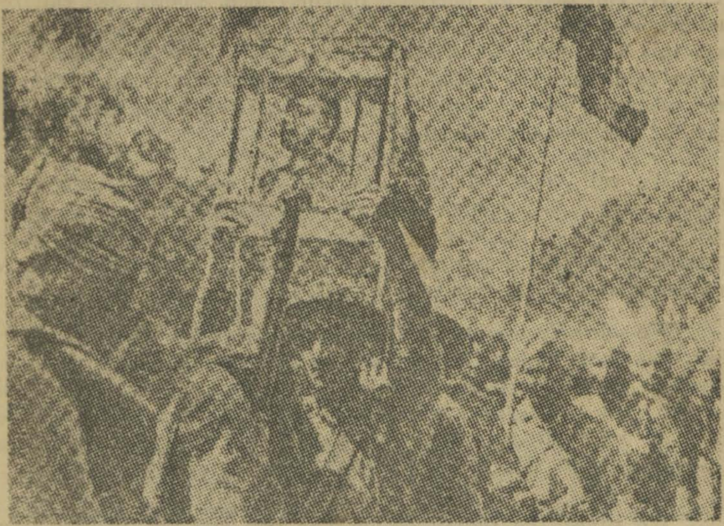
"In a last desperate attempt to spare India the horrors of war, Mahatma Gandhi advised the British Government to recognize India's demands for independence and quit India. The reply of the British Government was to throw him into prison along with hundreds of thousands of India's patriots. The last act of vandalism committed by the British Government was the virtual murder of Mrs. Kasturibai Gandhi in British custody.

"Viewing the worsening situation in India, Indians in East Asia numbering about three millions, made a solemn resolve to participate actively in the fight for the Indian people at home and their national liberation. They organized themselves politically under the Azad Hind Sangh, or Indian Independence League. They organized an army, and on October 21, 1943, they set up the Provisional Government of Azad Hind. When the Azad Hind Fauj had completed all its preparations, it launched the last fight for freedom of its sacred Motherland on February 4, 1944, in the Arakan region of Burma.

"The success achieved in this fight by the allied armies of India and Nippon has now enabled the Indian National Army to cross the frontier of India and continue its march to Delhi.

"Since the outbreak of the war in East Asia, the victories achieved by the armed forces of Nippon, which are unparalleled in military history, have rendered it possible for Indians in East Asia to organize themselves for active participation in India's fight for freedom. The Government of Nippon has repeatedly declared before the whole world that Nippon is fighting not only for her own security but also for the destruction of Anglo-American imperialism in East Asia, and further that Nippon stands for the complete and unconditional independence of India.

"In pursuance of this policy, the Government of Nippon has repeatedly expressed its readiness to give all-out aid to India in her



Soldiers of the I.N.A. carrying Netaji's Portrait on their Entry into an Indian village in Eastern Assam.

struggle for independence, formally recognized the Provisional Government of Azad Hind, and has decided to hand over the Andaman and Nicobar Islands to the Provisional Government.

"Now the Indian National Army has launched its offensive and, with the co-operation of the Imperial Nippon Army, is marching shoulder to shoulder in the common fight against the common foe—the Anglo-Americans and their allies. Until these foreign armies of aggression are thrown out of India there can be no freedom for the Indian people, there can be no freedom and security in East Asia, and there can be no end to the present imperialistic war of the Anglo-Americans.

"Nippon is therefore determined to redeem her pledge to help the Indian people to create an India for Indians.

"The Provisional Government of Azad Hind hereby proclaims its solemn determination to go on fighting in closest brotherhood with Nippon until India is completely liberated. We call upon Indian people who are the bone of our bone, the flesh of our flesh, to render all help—direct or indirect—to our armies of liberation.

"We call upon all patriotic Indians—men, women and children, our brothers and sisters in India, to throw themselves whole-heartedly into this last fight for India's independence. We call upon every Indian to destroy the Anglo-American war effort in India by systematic sabotage, and thereby hasten the successful conclusion of the war for our country's freedom.

"We call upon, our brothers, Indian soldiers and officers in Britain's army, to refuse to fight any longer for their despotic rulers, and to come and actively join our ranks. We call upon Indians working in various departments of the British service to render all possible help to us in this sacred fight.

"We solemnly assure the Indian people, our brothers and sisters, that they have nothing whatsoever to fear, so long as they do not help the Anglo-Americans or their allies in India. We assure them, further, that in liberated territory in India, the Provisional Government of Azad Hind will be established, and that the Provisional Government will take over the administration of that territory.

"We advise the Indian people, our kith and kin, to keep away from the Anglo-American armies, their airdromes, their barracks, their munition factories, their harbours and military installations, and their war industries, which may have to be destroyed by us before the enemy can be defeated.

"Sisters and brothers in India! This is the golden opportunity for you to fulfil your long-cherished aspirations for freedom. If you rise to the occasion and do your duty, freedom will be yours before long. In this momentous crisis India expects every one to do his or her duty. Jai Hind!—Head of State of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind and Supreme Commander of the Indian National Army."

Just before he left for the front Netaji opened the National Bank of Azad Hind in Rangoon on April 5. The patriotic spirit of four Indians of Rangoon made it possible for the bank to be established at a very short notice with a capital of 10 million rupees. Inspired by the self-sacrificing examples of Habeeb Saheb and Srimathi Betai who placed all that they possessed at the disposal of Netaji, Indians in Burma poured crores of rupees into the war-chest of the Provisional Government. Habeeb Saheb's total assets were estimated at over one crore of rupees.

Netaji awarded the decoration of "Sewak-e-Hind" to Habeeb Saheb, Srimati Betai and a few other Indians in Burma.

The Advance Headquarters of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind in Burma announced the appointment of five new Ministers of State in a special communique. They were Mr. N. Raghavan, Mr. A. Yellappa, Mr. Ishar Singh, Lieut.-Colonel G. R. Nagar, and Lieut.-Colonel Habibur Rahman.

The communique said that on their appointment as Ministers, Mr. A. Yellappa and Mr. Ishar Singh would cease to hold the posts of Advisers to the Provisional Government, but until further orders would carry on the duties hitherto entrusted to them.

The communique also said that Mr. S. M. Bashir of Rangoon was appointed Adviser to the Provisional Government of Azad Hind, and Lieut.-Colonel S. C. Alagappan, Minister without Portfolio, would be Minister in Charge of Supplies in addition to his other duties.

In the beginning of the spring of 1944, following the slashing of the Imphal-Kohima highway by the units of the I.N.A., the fighting around Imphal developed from jungle to plain warfare, with enemy remnants driven out of the jungle districts. Unhampered by the counter-thrust by the enemy forces, who presented a formidable combination numerically, the I.N.A. forces were swiftly tightening the encirclement around them.

The enemy forces who had now fallen back to semi-permanent positions in the Imphal plain, desperately attempted to check the I.N.A. advance by means of powerful artillery and tanks. The enemy High Command apparently aimed at retaining its positions in Imphal at all costs, until the rainy season, when it planned to readjust its front in time for the next dry season.

Meanwhile, in the vicinity of Katha, Nippon and Burmese army forces, through heavy attacks, frustrated the enemy's attempts to receive supplies from the air. With offensive operations impossible, the enemy in this sector was checkmated.

On the Buthidaung front, the main strength of the I.N.A. units crossed the Mayu River on the night of May 4 and immediately launched a fierce offensive, completely repulsing the enemy in that sector. The enemy forces on the Maungdaw front, entirely isolated from the Buthidaung sector, frantically retreated to rear positions.

In the Hukawng sector, fighting was confined to "hide and seek" skirmishes and there was little prospect of any large-scale war developments in this sector in the near future.

CHAPTER—XXIII

THE RETREAT AND AFTER

The rains came. The monsoon deluge flooded the communication and supply routes on the front. Since it started operations in February, 1944, the Indian National Army was halted for the first time in July. When impossible transport and supply conditions forced the Army to fall back, the British forces began to advance into Burma. Though this set-back was a terrible blow, it steeled the hearts of three million Indians in East Asia to carry on their freedom struggle with redoubled energy.

Fitting ceremonies in observance of Indian National Army Day were held by freedom-loving Indians throughout East Asia inaugurating a week of celebrations of the first anniversary of the establishment of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind which fell on Oct. 21.

One of the features of the celebrations in Burma was a parade by crack units of the Azad Hind Fauj and the Rani of Jhansi Regiment in the presence of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose.

Expressing his determination to launch as many offensives as necessary until the enemy was smashed, Netaji said the war-cry of the coming year would be " Blood, blood, blood." To take the enemy's blood Indians must be prepared to shed their own, he added.

Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, accompanied by Col. A. C. Chatterji, State Minister, Col. M. Kiani, Commander of the 1st Division of the I.N.A., and Lt.-Col. Habibur Rahman, Vice-Chief of Staff, arrived at Tokyo on Nov. 1 by air to confer with Nippon Government and military authorities with a view to closer co-operation between his Government and the Government of Nippon.

Netaji's visit to Japan which was the first since he attended the Assembly of Greater East Asia Nations last year as observer, was made at the invitation of the Nippon Government.

At 9 a.m. next day Netaji proceeded to the Imperial Palace to register his name. Then he paid a courtesy call on Premier Kuniaki Koiso at the latter's official residence. Later he called on and conferred with General Yoshijiro Umezu, Chief of the Army General Staff, and Field-Marshal Gen. Sugiyama, War Minister.

At noon he was guest of honour at a luncheon party given jointly by General Umezu and Field-Marshal Sugiyama. In the course of the afternoon he conferred with Admiral Mitsumasa Yonai, Navy Minister, and Admiral Koshiro Eikawa, Chief of the Naval General Staff.

Offering the toast at a banquet given in honour of Subhas Chandra Bose, in the evening, at his official residence, Premier Kuniaki Koiso heartily welcomed Netaji and his suite and other distinguished guests and expressed his sincere good wishes for the future growth of the Provisional Government of Free India.

Foreign Minister and concurrently Greater East Asia Minister Mamoru Shigemitsu at a welcome banquet he gave in honour of Netaji and his suite at his official residence on Nov. 10 expressed his firm conviction that the Indian National Army under the leadership of Netaji would achieve the ultimate victory. He also assured him that Nippon, as often announced in the past, would render every possible assistance for the attainment of Indian independence.

Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose went to the Asia Development Institute and witnessed the progress being made by resident Indian students. Following the visit he held informal discussions with the students and departed after taking a souvenir group photograph.

Two great leaders of Asia met on the afternoon of Nov. 16 when Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose called on Adipadi Ba Maw, head of the Burmese State, at the Greater East Asia Guest Hall where the latter was staying.

The two leaders held a cordial one-hour discussion in which they recalled their former meeting in Tokyo about a year ago at the time of the Assembly of Greater East Asia Nations.

Soon after his visit to Tokyo Netaji returned to Syonan with a view to galvanising the flagging enthusiasm of the people in Malaya consequent upon the set-back which the I.N.A. had in July after the setting in of the monsoon. After his arrival in Syonan Netaji addressed a mammoth gathering of Indians on Dec. 17 referring to the events of the past year and to the I.N.A's reverses. He said:

We have achieved a lot during the past one year. The establishment of the Provisional Government last year in the month of October was the stepping stone for our success. When our Army of Liberation started from Syonan on their march to Delhi, Indians were thinking under what government we are going to fight and to whom our victories can be attributed. History records many instances of establishment of similar Provisional Governments. But the establishment of our Provisional Government was unique in that it was recognised by nine world powers. No other revolutionary government has received so much esteem and respect as ours. India is no longer a slave country in the eyes of these nations. In the history of the world we have witnessed many revolutions. Let us

take, for instance, Ireland. The Irish people established their Provisional Government. But the respect that our Provisional Government commands to-day was never commanded by Ireland. America had sympathies with the Irish cause. De Valera went to America to seek American assistance. He managed to get money, but not respect. He returned disappointed. The secret of respect commanded by us lies in the recognition of our Government by nine world powers. The Indian sisters and brothers in Malaya will have their honourable place in the history of India. It is here in Syonan that the Azad Hind Fauj was organised. It was here in Syonan that the Provisional Government of Azad Hind was established. And it was from Syonan that the Azad Hind Fauj began its march to India. We expect ceaseless help and assistance from Syonan.

While I was in Rangoon I learnt that the revolutionary spirit and enthusiasm of the people in Malai and Syonan is coming down. I have come here to see it for myself. If it is really true, I am sorry to say that it is a matter for regret. The war of independence for India is not a child's play. It is a matter of life and death for 38 crores of Indians. Either we will live like free men or we will embrace death.

I know there are British agents in Syonan, left by them when they retreated to spread false rumours and propaganda. But it does not concern us Indians. There is only one way left to us and that is the way to Delhi. There is no room for compromise. These enemy agents may be able to put obstacles in our path, but we have only one thought branded in our heart and soul and that is India and her independence.

I have brought with me Divisional Commander Colonel M. Z. Kiani to furnish you with up-to-date information about the battles in the Arakan and Imphal. I could have brought other Commanders also with me. But it was not possible to bring all of them here.

Before I came here I went to Tokyo. My object in visiting Tokyo was to establish personal contact with the members of the new Cabinet and to discuss with the members of the Imperial Government and leaders of Army and Navy concerning future programme both political and military. We have settled all questions, both military and political, amicably. As regards military questions, I cannot disclose them as they are military secrets. As regards political questions, diplomatic relations will be established very soon which will strengthen our position. That will enable us to work with close co-operation and prosecute the war successfully.

At the end of December last year I toured the Andamans. On the 30th December we hoisted our National Flag on the British Chief Commissioner's residence. I had talks with Nipponese authorities and it was agreed that the Provisional Government of Azad Hind should send a Commissioner there. So Colonel A. D. Loganadhan was sent to Andamans as Chief Commissioner. In January I went to Rangoon and along with me the Army and League Headquarters were shifted to Rangoon. On the 4th February, an offensive was launched in Arakan against the Anglo-Americans. The Arakan fight was a minor struggle, but great importance was attached to it. It was the first test to our Army of Liberation. Hitherto no one knew much about the Azad Hind Fauj. The world was amazed at the bravery and courage displayed by the Azad Hind Fauj. It was a wonder not for us but for those who had shades of doubt in the core of their heart. Before we began the offensive Nipponese Army authorities asked a question whether the Azad Hind Fauj will be able to undergo all hardships with Nippon forces. The commanders were instructed to ensure from their officers and men before giving any definite answer. When the soldiers of the Azad Hind Fauj were questioned they all with one voice replied that they are capable of enduring as much hardships as the Nippon soldiers can endure and even more. They knew they were fighting the battle of India's independence. But in spite of this assurance, the Nipponese still had some doubts. But when it was proved that the Azad Hind Fauj is giving a bold show to the enemy, they were very much surprised.

This war is not waged by Nippon alone. It is a national war for India's liberation. We have to go to India and therefore will have to suffer more and more difficulties. Although the battle of Arakan was a minor struggle it was very important to us because it was the first test of our forces. On the 18th March the Provisional Government proclaimed that the Azad Hind Fauj crossed the Indo-Burma border and were fighting on Indian soil. In March our advance was so rapid that when our thrust into Imphal was delayed there were inquiries why Imphal was still standing against our assault. I was annoyed at persons asking such questions. These were persons who were not actually on the front line, but far behind in their homes. Those who know anything about fighting will not ask such questions. Only military observers realise the strategical importance of Imphal and Chittagong. If these cities had no military importance we would have captured them earlier. The fortifications on the Eastern Front of India are like that of Maginot Line in

France. So long as these fortifications are safe, the British are secure. When these fortifications are pierced through, our forces will easily make rapid advance towards Delhi.

In each and every battle there is a certain strategic point which will decide the course of the war. Those who are aware of the past history of India know well that Panipat always settled the fate of India. But in this war the fate of India will be settled somewhere in the jungles between Imphal and Chittagong. When once we smash enemy fortifications on the Eastern Frontier and reach the plains of Bengal and Assam then our road to Delhi will be clear. So the enemy will strive hard to hold to these fortifications. In this war when the Maginot Line was pierced, France collapsed in a few weeks. So when the fate of Chittagong and Imphal is sealed there will be no war in the Bengal Province and our advance to Calcutta will be only a route march.

I have just now told you that the battle of Imphal and Chittagong will settle the fate of India. We will get hold of these important strategic points at all cost even if we have to attempt ten times or more. When we withdrew from Imphal people were disappointed. They asked me for my opinion and I replied that there is no ground for any such doubt. We know our path and we will never waver until we reach our goal.

Friends, we should realise the importance of Imphal and Chittagong and be ready to make any sacrifice to occupy these cities. Once we take these strategical centres, our task will become easier for it will have wide repercussions throughout India. We know very well the situation in India. There is no Indian who likes the British. Every Indian hates the British and if a handful of them side with the British it is not out of love for the British but to achieve their self interests. If the three hundred and eighty million Indians rose in revolt they could have annihilated the British with sticks and stones. Then there would have been no necessity for the Azad Hind Fauj. It is regrettable that they have not seen the destruction of the British with their own eyes as we Indians in East Asia have experienced. You are confident that the British Empire will be shattered. Now it is our duty to go into India and defeat the British so that the 380 million Indians could see the destruction of the British with their own eyes. When they see it for themselves they will get courage and self-confidence and revolution will break out in every nook and corner of India and our task will become easier.

Friends, you perhaps remember that in August last year in the course of a speech at the Farrer Park I said that before the end of this year we will cross the Indo-Burma border and will stand on Indian soil. When I spoke I thought we will be able to commence fighting in the month of December. But we were delayed on account of necessary military preparations. Our forces entered India in March and we were fighting on a broad front from Akyab to Kohima. We defeated the enemy in every battle, but due to transport difficulties we could not continue our advance. In the heavy rain we had only two courses open to us: either to stay in these jungles or to withdraw. The Nippon Commander and our Commanders considered over the matter and it was decided to withdraw because to stay in these jungles meant disaster to the army. When the enemy saw that we have withdrawn and the road was clear they occupied the place without resistance and proclaimed to the whole world by every weapon of propaganda that they have won a great victory. But our officers and men know the real reason for our withdrawal. We are confident that we can occupy all the lost ground in no time. I would once again stress the importance of Imphal and Chittagong and we will have to occupy these places at any cost. After six months of battle we have judged correctly our strength and the strength of our enemy.

When the Azad Hind Fauj was organised the enemy began to make propaganda that the Azad Hind Fauj was not an army but only a propaganda stunt. But when our army went into action the British propagandists changed their tune and began to give out that the Azad Hind Fauj was very poorly equipped. In reply I said that our army possessed everything except meat, rum, beer and whisky which were abundantly supplied to the British forces. Our army will fight in the face of hunger and thirst. There have been many revolutions in the world history, but you can never find a single example where the revolutionary army was better equipped than their opponents. They have succeeded not because of the strength of their weapon or of numbers but by the strength of their conviction that they are fighting for a sacred cause. Take the case of Ireland. She had 5,000 revolutionaries who had dedicated their lives for their country. The British sent 50,000 troops well equipped to crush the revolution. But they miserably failed in spite of their superiority in number and weapons. I know very well the strength of our enemies and I know what we are capable of doing. We will have to make great sacrifices. Even if every soldier and officer of the Azad Hind Fauj has to lay down his life for the liberation of 380 million Indians, we are pre-

pared for that. Even if the three million Indians in East Asia turn destitutes, that is nothing. We are proud that we are given such a golden opportunity to serve our Motherland. We are thankful to God that we have got men and material needed for the liberation of India. Three million Indians have been united. Now we have to pay the price of our independence with our blood which is not a big price. Now the responsibility that lies on our shoulders is to strengthen our army and march across into India. There is only one way for us. We have to shed our blood. So many of our comrades laid down their lives in the first campaign; nobody can say how many of us will remain alive until the war of liberation comes to a successful conclusion. Officers and men who hesitate to lay down their lives have no place in this army. Side by side with the Army the nation has to make total sacrifices. The nation must be prepared for such a sacrifice.

Last year in Bengal Province alone 20 lakhs of Indians perished due to starvation. 5 lakhs of Indians retreated along with the British from Burma and out of these more than one lakh lost their lives. If so many Indians had given up their lives for the independence of our Motherland, India to-day would have been a free country. If you are not willing to face death for the liberation of your country you have no right to call yourself an Indian. Some so-called Indians think that if India is freed they can go to India and if the British came back then also they can go back to India. I can assure these traitors that they will not go to India. We are not liberating India for them. They will have no place in a free India. We will pick up all those traitors and they will be at the mercy of the Free Government. The only favour they may expect from us will be a third class ticket to Britain.

Friends, we have to enhance our programme of total mobilisation. Preparations are being made for the next offensive and we are collecting materials for this campaign. Our well-to-do brothers who are lagging behind will have to come forward and make sacrifices. Those wealthy Indians who have amassed a great fortune and are afraid to lay down their lives will have to take a Habeeb mixture. Janab Habeeb is the first patriot who has sacrificed all his property, amounting to ten million and three thousand rupees. Those people who do not enjoy sleep thinking of their money may better take a dose of Habeeb mixture and cure themselves by contributing all their money for our funds. I tell you as long as the entire nation is not fully prepared to sacrifice everything, our victory cannot be achieved. We must inspire and set an example to those who are obstructing

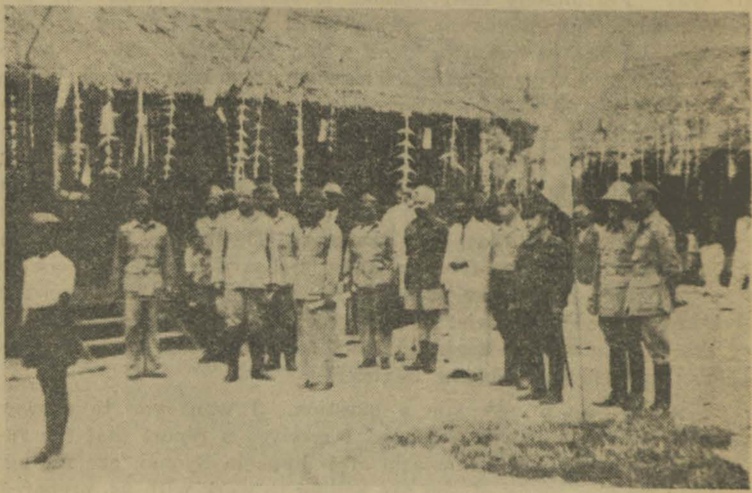
our way. Fortunately their number is very small. Still they are doing harm to our movement. They think that we can only prattle and that we cannot suppress them. Now the entire nation has to come under military discipline. Those who are weak we will make them strong. And if we are forced to suppress these enemy agents disguised as Indians I know the whole nation will support us. Up to this time we entreated you with folded hands. In Nippon, Germany or in England the Governments never request but order. I can assure you that not only Syonan but the whole world, except perhaps America, is suffering from food shortage. The reason for America not suffering from such food shortage is that war has not gone to American soil. If you are prepared to sacrifice everything then the food problem will not exist at all. We also need more volunteers for the Rani of Jhansi Regiment; so I have to appeal to our sisters to come forward and join the Regiment.

I would like to ask you a question. I want you to answer honestly. When I was in Rangoon I received a report that the revolutionary spirit and enthusiasm of Indians in Syonan are fading. Now tell me how many of you are willing to work with us, prepared to make any sacrifice and to fight shoulder to shoulder with us and, if need be, to die with us?

Immediately the whole audience got up and expressed their willingness to lay down their lives or make any sacrifice for the liberation of India. They shouted "Inquilab Zindabad," "Netaji ki Jai" and "Chalo Delhi."

Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose then toured North Malaya. On Dec. 22 he visited Kuala Lumpur and addressed a mass meeting of Indians. The following day he inspected the Indian Welfare Centre conducted by the Selangor Branch of the Indian Independence League at Kuala Lumpur for the care of sick and destitute Indians.

No account of the Indian Independence Movement in East Asia would be complete without a reference to the excellent relief work done by this Centre at Kuala Lumpur. The Indian Independence League not only carried on the freedom struggle but also interested itself in the alleviation of distress among destitute Indians. It opened relief camps in various places where hundreds of diseased, decrepit and destitute people were looked after. Among these relief camps the Indian Welfare Centre at Kuala Lumpur stood foremost and was a relief organisation par excellence. This institution was formally opened in August, 1942, with 120 men, 20 women and 40 children as inmates, and the magnitude of its work can be gauged from the fact that when the Centre closed down consequent upon the



Netaji visits Indian Welfare Centre, Kuala Lumpur.

winding up of the League in August, 1945, the strength of the inmates was over 700 and that the cost of its upkeep was steadily mounting till it reached the very high figure of $70 000 per month towards the close. In the beginning the entire work of social welfare was conducted by a Relief Committee of the League, of which Mr. C. J. Doshi, a Kuala Lumpur merchant of good standing and public spirit, was the chairman and Mr. K. A. Narayan the secretary. Later on after the reorganisation of the League on the assumption of leadership by Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, the Indian Welfare Centre was put under the management of the Health and Social Welfare Department of the League. The success of this Centre was entirely due to the indefatigable efforts of Mr. M. K. Ramachandram and Mr. S. Palanivel, the chairman and member-in-charge of the Health and Social Welfare Department, respectively, of the League.

Owing to intensive and extensive preparation for a new Indo-Burma border offensive a reshuffling of the personnel of the League Headquarters became necessary. Mr. J. A. Thivy, Secretary General of the Rear Headquarters at Syonan, had to proceed to Burma to take up similar post at the Advance Headquarters. Dr. M. K. Lukshumeyah, who succeeded him, had to shoulder the tremendous

responsibility of carrying out Netaji's total mobilisation programme at the home front.

After having toured North Malaya, Netaji visited Sumatra and received donations amounting to one million dollars at Medan, capital of Sumatra. During this tour in Malaya and Sumatra in three weeks Netaji received over 10 million dollars as contributions to the Indian Independence Fund. Before returning to Burma to attend to urgent and important matters Netaji addressed a mammoth gathering of Indians at Syonan on Jan. 7, 1945, and exhorted them to make vigorous efforts for more men, more money and more materials for the successful prosecution of the war.

CHAPTER—XXIV

THE END

Rash Behari Bose, organiser of the Indian Independence Movement in East Asia and Supreme Adviser to Netaji's Provisional Government of Free India, passed away at Tokyo on Jan. 21, 1945, after a prolonged illness. To those who were given up to presentiments his death foreboded evil to the movement in East Asia. Since the beginning of the year the Burma campaign had been encountering a series of reverses, which may be summarised as follows: Jan. 5, British and Indian troops of 15th Indian Corps land on Akyab Island; Jan. 7, Indian troops of 4th Corps enter Shwebo; Jan. 12, troops of 15th Indian Corps land on Myebon Peninsula, 32 miles from Akyab; Feb. 10, capture of Ramree town by 15th Indian Corps; March 5, capture of Meiktila by 14th Army; March 8, 19th Indian Division enters Mandalay; March 20, 14th Army takes Maymyo; April 16, 15th Indian Corps captures Taungup in Arakan; and May 4, 14th Army takes Rangoon.

Towards the end of April, 1945, when the British forces were advancing towards Rangoon Netaji was still there, determined to stay with his army and face the enemy. Night and day for a week his Ministers and high-ranking officers pleaded with him to leave Rangoon and carry on the war from elsewhere. Netaji did not budge. The British spearhead was heading towards Rangoon, and only a few hours left, then it would be too late. With tears in their eyes the Ministers and Officers begged him to leave even at the last hour. At last Netaji relented. He left Rangoon on the evening of April 24, 1945, by road for Bangkok. It took him 3 weeks to cover the 300

odd miles to that place. Holding his life in his hand and undergoing indescribable physical hardships he reached Bangkok on May 14.

Mr. Ishiyama, chief correspondent of the " Asahi Shimbun " in the Southern Regions, who had come into close contact with Netaji at Rangoon, narrated to a select gathering of high officers of the I.N.A. and the League at Syonan later some striking incidents as revealing Netaji's sense of duty and concern for the I.N.A. and the Rani of Jhansi Regiment and his bravery in the face of great danger.

Mr. Ishiyama said that when the I.N.A. troops were in Pegu they were within striking distance of the enemy. They should have hurried to get away but Netaji would not get away until the arrival of other detachments of the I.N.A. who were still on the move. It was only after their arrival Netaji left Pegu.

At Sittang there was need for transport for the removal of a number of patients and weak people. There was some transport but as these were required for the use of the patients Netaji undertook to march from Sittang to Moulmein—a distance of about 70 miles—walking five days.

At Tambuzee, a railway junction south of Moulmein, an enemy task force was operating and it was expected that there might be bombing and shelling at any time. There was every danger but Netaji waited there till all the I.N.A. troops had left.

The last time he saw Netaji, said Mr. Ishiyama, was at a way-side between Rangoon and Moulmein, some time at the end of April. It was somewhat of a dramatic scene. He was tired and sitting on the side of the road. It was a moonlight night and he could see Netaji leading 200 or 300 I.N.A. troops and Jhansi volunteers in a very orderly manner.

Owing to Netaji's reluctance to leave Burma in spite of the Nippon military authorities' advice to leave the place as quickly as possible, his departure from Rangoon was delayed for a few days. Netaji had insisted to remain in Burma and continue the fight against the British but he had to accede to the request of his Cabinet Ministers.

Another notable incident which shows Netaji's bravery was provided in the dangerous crossing of the river at Sittang. The crossing was not an easy affair and at the same time Netaji had to do it during enemy's bombing and machine-gunning. Netaji could agree to cross the river only after all the I.N.A. and the Jhansi Regiment volunteers had completed the crossing.

Netaji Bose had not only impressed him with his solicitude for the Jhansi and the I N.A. members, said Mr. Ishiyama but he had also impressed the Nippon Military authorities very deeply. Netaji's concern and anxiety for the safety of the members of the Jhansi Regiment and the I.N.A. was remarkable.

It was learned later that Netaji was leading 300 I.N.A. men, 100 Jhansis and 100 civilians from Burma.

After his arrival in Bangkok, Netaji issued the following Special Order of the Day to the officers and men of the Azad Hind Fauj on May 21st:

Brave Officers and Men of the Azad Hind Fauj!

It is with a very heavy heart that I am leaving Burma—the scene of the many heroic battles that you have fought since February 1944 and are still fighting. Your brave deeds in the battles against the enemy on the plains of Imphal the hills and jungles of Arakan and the oilfield area and other localities in Burma will live in the history of our struggle for Independence for all time.

Comrades! At this critical hour, I have only one word of command to give you, and that is that if you have to go down temporarily, then go down fighting with the National Tri-colour held aloft; go down as heroes; go down upholding the highest code of honour and discipline. The future generations of Indians who will be born, not as slaves but as free men because of your colossal sacrifice, will bless your names and proudly proclaim to the world that you, their forebears, fought the battles bravely in Manipur, Assam, and Burma, but through temporary failure you paved the way to ultimate success and glory.

My unshakable faith in India's liberation remains unaltered. I am leaving in your safe hands our National Tri-colour, our national honour and the best traditions of Indian warriors. I have no doubt whatsoever that you, vanguard of India's army of liberation, will sacrifice everything, even life itself, to uphold India's national honour, so that your comrades who will continue the fight elsewhere may have before them your shining example to inspire them at all times.

If I had my own way, I would have preferred to stay with you in adversity and share with you all the difficulties. But on the advice of my Ministers and high ranking Officers I have to leave Burma in order to continue the struggle for emancipation. Knowing my countrymen in East Asia and inside India, I can assure you that they will continue the fight under all circumstances and that all your sufferings and sacrifices will not be in vain. So far as I am concerned, I shall steadfastly adhere to the pledge that I took

on the 21st of October, 1943, to do all in my power to serve the interests of 38 crores of my countrymen, and fight for their liberation. I appeal to you, in conclusion, to cherish the same optimism as myself and to believe, like myself, that the darkest hour always precedes the dawn. INDIA SHALL BE FREE—and before long.

May God Bless You!

While Netaji was engaged in drawing up plans for future action, came the news that Lord Wavell, Viceroy of India, had offered to indianise his Executive Council in return for the active co-operation of the Indian National Congress in Britain's war against Japan. Netaji held a meeting of his Cabinet which decided that it would be suicidal for the Congress to accept Lord Wavell's offer. There was no time to lose. Netaji flew to Syonan on June 18 and from that night onwards he broadcast to his countrymen in India night after night for nearly one month pleading with them not to bring about a compromise on the issue of independence through accepting Lord Wavell's offer.

In spite of recent setbacks the three million Indians in East Asia celebrated on July 4, 1945 the second anniversary of the historic day on which Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose assumed the leadership of the Indian Independence Movement in East Asia. The day was celebrated with mass meetings and demonstrations and Indians in East Asia renewed their pledge of loyalty to the Provisional Government of Azad Hind and to their leader, Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose. They also reaffirmed their grim resolve to wage the war of India's liberation until victory was achieved These observances in connection with Netaji Week lasted for the entire week and concluded on July 10th.

In Syonan on July 4 prayers were held in all mosques, churches and temples for the long life of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose and the complete success of his mission in life, i.e., the complete liberation of India from the British yoke. The day's activities commenced with the singing of the National Anthem. The climax was reached in the evening when tens of thousands of Indians rallied at a huge mass meeting which was addressed by their beloved leader Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose.

Before the proceedings commenced Netaji stressed the importance of the new National Anthem for India that had been in vogue in East Asia since 21st October, 1943—the day on which the Provisional Government of Azad Hind was formed. Netaji stated that the new National Anthem had been composed by Janab Syed Mumtaz Hussain of the Publicity Department of the Indian Independence League

Headquarters in East Asia. Netaji appreciated the composition and adopted it as the future National Anthem of Free India acceptable to all Indians without any distinction of caste or creed. In appreciation of Janab Hussain's services for the cause of Mother India Netaji presented him with a beautiful silver casket containing a cheque for ten thousand dollars.

Then Netaji addressed the meeting in Hindustani for well over two hours. Netaji asked the gathering whether they were prepared to continue the armed struggle against the Anglo-Americans until India was completely free. For a couple of seconds the whole atmosphere was tense and then the whole gathering stood up as one man and signified their willingness to follow their leader to freedom or death.

An event of great importance in the history of the Indian independence movement in East Asia took place on July 8 when the foundation stone for a memorial to the Indian martyrs who laid down their lives in the cause of India's battle for freedom, was laid by His Excellency Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, Head of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind and Supreme Commander of the Azad Hind Fauj on the waterfront in Connaught Drive, Syonan. The function was attended by the Azad Hind Fauj and the Volunteers of the Rani of Jhansi Regiment, who were drawn up to form three sides of the square, while a number of others were lined up on the road. The Balak Sena unit and girls of the Indian National School also took part in the ceremony. High ranking Nippon officials, high officials of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind of the I.N A. and of the Indian Independence League, and prominent members of various communities were present.

The ceremony began punctually at 11 o'clock with the arrival of Netaji Bose followed by the hoisting of the national flag, the band playing the National Anthem. Netaji then gave an address in Hindustani extolling the supreme sacrifice made by the martyrs.

Addressing the gathering Netaji said: "To-day is for us Indians a memorable day—a day that will live in our history for all time. We have assembled here to-day in a solemn ceremony to pay our respectful homage to all those who have given their lives for the freedom of our Motherland under the leadership of the Provisional Government. As you know, the Provisional Government of Azad Hind declared war on Britain and America on the 23rd of October, 1943, and the armed struggle for India's liberty was actually launched on the 4th of February, 1944.



Bramachari Kailasam of Ramakrishna Mission, Singapore, Principal of the Indian National School, with Netaji.

"Since then, we have, on several occasions, paid our homage to those heroes who died for the freedom of India. But this is the first occasion when we are erecting a memorial to our Glorious Dead. It is, I believe, in the fitness of things, that our first War Memorial should be put up in this city. Syonan is also the birthplace of the Azad Hind Fauj. Syonan is also the birthplace of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind.

"It is from Syonan that the troops of the Azad Hind Fauj and members of other auxiliary organisations like the Azad Hind Dal marched to Burma, on their way to India. Furthermore, Syonan and Malai have contributed a large number of recruits for our Army and a large number of workers for our independence movement. That is why the Provisional Government of Azad Hind decided to erect the first memorial to the heroes of Azad Hind in this city, which was once the bulwark of the British Empire in the East and which became later the starting-point of India's last War of Independence.

"There are occasions when thoughts lie too deep for words and this is one of those solemn and sacred occasions. Let us, therefore, pay our respectful homage to the immortal dead in solemn silence. And, while paying our homage, let us pray to the Almighty Father to give us strength to continue and complete the work that our heroes left unfinished. Their immortal souls are with us to-day to inspire us to greater deeds of heroism and valour. With God's blessings and with the inspiration given us by our heroes, let us

continue the struggle without faltering and without compromising, until the complete independence of India is achieved. And let us have unshakable confidence in our final victory, as well as unflinching determination to achieve that victory in spite of all difficulties and tribulations."

Netaji then laid the foundation stone by placing a marble plaque bearing an inscription in Hindustani with flag standing at half mast. The whole parade was brought to attention and two minutes silence was observed with the guard of honour standing with arms reversed. Wreaths were placed by Netaji, high-ranking officers of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind and of the Nippon Administration and leaders of various communities.



Netaji saluting the Memorial to Indian Martyrs after laying the Foundation Stone.

With three salvoes of feu de joie by the guard of honour, followed by the singing of the National Anthem, and with the flag flying full mast the ceremony came to an end.

While Netaji was touring Malaya, engaged in working up to white heat the enthusiasm of the people for total mobilisation with a view to the renewal of military operations, the news of the unconditional surrender of Japan came on August 15 like a bolt from the blue. Instruction was at once given for the winding up of the

Indian Independence League in Malaya and other parts of East Asia.

The following Special Order of the Day was issued by Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, Supreme Commander, to Officers and Men of the Azad Hind Fauj on the eve of his departure from Malaya:

To Officers and Men of the Azad Hind Fauj,

Comrades,—In our struggle for the independence of our Motherland, we have now been overwhelmed by an undreamt of crisis. You may perhaps feel that you have failed in your mission to liberate India. But let me tell you that this failure is only of a temporary nature. No setback and no defeat can undo your positive achievements of the past. Many of you have participated in the fight along the Indo-Burma frontier and inside India and have gone through hardship and suffering of every sort. Many of your comrades have laid down their lives on the battlefield and have become the immortal heroes of Azad Hind. This glorious sacrifice can never go in vain.

Comrades in this dark hour I call upon you to conduct yourselves with the discipline, dignity and strength befitting a truly Revolutionary Army. You have already given proofs of your valour and self-sacrifice on the field of battle. It is now your duty to demonstrate your undying optimism and unshakable will-power in the hour of temporary defeat. Knowing you, as I do, I have not the slightest doubt that even in this dire adversity you will hold your heads erect and face the future with unending hope and confidence.

Comrades, I feel that in this critical hour, thirty-eight crores of our countrymen at home are looking at us, the Members of India's Army of Liberation. Therefore remain true to India and do not for a moment waver in your faith in India's destiny. The roads to Delhi are many and Delhi still remains our goal. The sacrifices of your immortal comrades and of yourselves will certainly achieve their fulfilment. There is no power on earth that can keep India enslaved. India shall be free and before long.

"JAI HIND"

SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE,

By Order,
J. A. Thivy.

Secretary,
Provisional Government of Azad Hind.

17th August, 1945.

Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose addressed the following special message to Indians in Malaya, Thailand, Indo-China, Java, Sumatra, Borneo, Philippines, Japan and other parts of East Asia:—

Sisters and Brothers,—A glorious chapter in the history of India's Struggle for Freedom has just come to a close and, in that chapter, the sons and daughters of India in East Asia will have an undying place.

You set a shining example of patriotism and self-sacrifice by pouring out men, money and materials into the struggle for India's Independence. I shall never forget the spontaneity and enthusiasm with which you responded to my call for "TOTAL MOBILISATION." You sent an unending stream of your sons and daughters to the camps to be trained as soldiers of the Azad Hind Fauj and of the Rani of Jhansi Regiment. Money and materials you poured lavishly into the war chest of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind. In short, you did your duty as true sons and daughters of India. I regret more than you do, that your sufferings and sacrifices have not borne immediate fruit. But they have not gone in vain because they have ensured the emancipation of our Motherland and will serve as an undying inspiration to Indians all over the world. Posterity will bless your name, and will talk with pride about your offerings at the altar of India's Freedom and about your positive achievements as well.

In this unprecedented crisis in our history, I have only one word to say. Do not be depressed at our temporary failure. Be of good cheer and keep up your spirits. Above all, never for a moment falter in your faith in India's destiny. There is no power on earth that can keep India enslaved. India shall be free and before long.

"JAI HIND"

SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE,

By Order,
J. A. Thivy,
Secretary,
Provisional Government of Azad Hind.

17th August, 1945.

Our cup of sorrow was made full when the tragic news came of our beloved Netaji's death in a plane crash on August 18. According to Col. Habibur Rahman of the I.N.A., who was the only Indian fellow-passenger aboard the ill-fated plane, the plane left Saigon on the afternoon of Aug. 17 on its way to Tokyo.

It reached Taihoku in Taiwan the following day and took off from the airport at 2 p.m. It had been hardly two or three minutes in the air when the passengers heard a loud report. They thought it was gun fire. It turned out later that one of the propellers had broken. Immediately the plane started wobbling and the pilot could not steady it. In less than two minutes the plane crashed to the ground. The petrol tank burst open and Netaji and other passengers were splashed with petrol. Fire broke out inside the wreckage and Netaji staggered out of the plane followed by Col. Rahman. Meanwhile Netaji's clothes had caught fire extensively as he was wearing cotton uniform. Col. Rahman was wearing woollen uniform and he got less petrol on his clothes. He suffered from less injuries and burns than Netaji. Within a few minutes ambulance was rushed to the scene of the accident and Netaji and other passengers were taken to the military hospital where first aid was given within fifteen minutes of the crash. Two or three of the Japanese passengers died on the spot while others were more or less seriously injured. In spite of the best available medical attention Netaji breathed his last at 9 p.m. on the 18th August, 1945.

Netaji's parting message to his countrymen was: " Col. Habib! You give this message to my countrymen. Tell them that Subhas Bose till the last moment of his life fought for the freedom of India."

INDIA SHALL BE FREE—AND BEFORE LONG.